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The Lenox-Eames Classification Scheme
at the William L. Clements Library

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WILBERFORCE Eames, bibliographer extraordinary, once heard, and approved, a fellow librarian's definition of the Lenox-Eames classification scheme as the arrangement of books "chronologically, according to date of publication, except when we don't want to!"

William L. Clements took over the scheme Eames had devised for the collection of James Lenox and applied it to the collection of Americana which he finally gave to his alma mater, the University of Michigan.

This particular study is prompted by the problems which have been met during the reclassification and partial recataloguing of certain groups of books at the Clements Library. It applies in some degree to any collection of books considered for cataloguing or classification under the Lenox-Eames scheme.

As in any rare book library, the Clements arrangements of its four principal divisions, books, manuscripts, maps, and prints, are governed first of all by the architectural limitations of the building. The book division, with which we shall deal, is itself

subdivided. One chronological sequence of books is in the Rare Book Room, a room where the greatest rarities are kept under special safeguards. A second chronology is in the "Main Room," the great central hall of the library, where books are kept that, while rare, fail to meet the qualifications for admission to the Rare Book Room.

The rest of the books in the library, and there are a good many which are not in these two subdivisions, make up the "when we don't want to" books, the exceptions that make classifiers unhappy.

There are special collections of books by and about Abraham Lincoln, George Washington, Christopher Columbus, Tom Paine, Theodore Roosevelt, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Junius, John Wilkes, W. H. Hudson, and Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham. There are also the collections of the "voyages" of De Bry, Hulsius, and La Hontan; of early printings of colonial laws, the Federal Constitution, the *Federalist*, books for children, the "Jesuit Relations," books relating to the controversy over the Anglican episcopate and the American colonies, and others.

Newspapers, periodicals, government documents, broadsides, and publications of historical societies are also kept in separate classifications. A collection of secondary historical works is maintained for the use of visiting historians who wish to avoid a hundred-yard walk to the million-volume general library of the University. Finally, a separate collection for bibliographical research is kept in the Bibliographical Room of the library.

There used to be a great many more of the little "special collections." Time, plus the anguished wails of new staff members attempting to locate books for readers, has resulted in a steady shrinkage in their numbers.

The chronological system of arrangement works, and works well, at the Clements Library. That is to say, it works well at a library of rare books where the amount of use is restricted. It ac-

celerates speed of classification and arrangement. A book can be found easily even though not plastered with labels on the spine . . . an important consideration in any library. Since the investigators of a given year in American history are apt to be interested in all the publications of that year, we can say that the scheme answers the first requirement of a classification system, that it keep like works together.

That evades the issue somewhat. The scheme will work, but it won't work well unless exhaustive cataloguing is the normal practice of the library where it is used. Lacking the signpost of shelf arrangement by subject, the catalogue must fill that need.

Premising the fact that the scheme does work, and is working, there are still a number of problems faced by the classifier. Some of these are peculiar to the use of the Lenox-Eames system; some of them are met in the handling of any normal collection of books.

The first decision at the Clements Library is whether a book belongs in the Rare Book Room or in the Main Room. This separation is pretty much a matter of subjective judgment on the part of the classifier—what Randolph G. Adams, director of the Clements Library, likes to call “rare bookmanship.” It goes back to the old question, “What makes a rare book rare?”

The Clements Library uses the three criteria of priority, importance, and scarcity. As an arbitrary guide, in the absence of specialized knowledge, a book with a price record above a certain figure goes into the Rare Book Room. That means a certain ebb and flow between Main Room and Rare Book Room. Prices of rare Americana are relatively stable, but shifting buyer interest may, and often does, mean that a book bought cheaply increases in value, and ends up in the same room with the 1493 Columbus Letter. Some of the Revolutionary pamphlets that Mr. Clements especially cherished have been pushed by time out of the Rare Book Room and into the Main Room chronology. This means that occasionally in the future there will be a re-

view of the judgment of those classifiers who worked in the primitive epoch of the mid-twentieth century.

Except where a binding has association interest or is an unusual sample of the binder's art, it is not considered in the original decision as to the location of the volume. The value of the binding normally does not enter into the calculation of the value of the book.

In shelving the books, the date of publication is followed, except as will be noted later. Two or more works bound together are shelved under the date of the first. This is the solution, except where nothing of particular bibliographical interest would be destroyed by separating the two books. If the binding is of no interest, if there is no especial association value, then the volume can be taken apart. At least it can if the logical mind of the classifier has succeeded in accomplishing a happy meeting with that of the Director, who might rather buy a new book than supply funds for the rebinding of two already in the collection.

At the Clements Library, the call number of a volume made up of two or more items is that assigned, as shown in Table "A," to the first of the bound titles. The same call number, then, will appear on the main and shelf list cards of all the items. Works of several volumes take the date of the first volume published.

In both the Rare Book Room and the Main Room, classifiers were forced to erect second chronologies based on the unfortunate fact that a four-inch volume won't go next to a three-foot one. So chronologies of folio and outsize volumes exist in both rooms.

The Clements Library, like most other rare book libraries, has a few collections of the various editions of one work, as, for instance, *The Federalist*. Where relatively complete, and where more important as a collection than when considered as individual volumes, the collections were kept separately, apart from the chronologies. The estimation of the value of such a collection is again a matter of subjective judgment, of "rare bookmanship."

The Clements Library has as complete a collection of the De Bry voyages as is known to exist. These were, naturally, kept as a collection. A large, but by no means complete, collection of Jesuit Relations was also continued as a collection. But a group of books by Apianus was broken up, some of the items proving to be of great value and some of only nominal worth. As a collection, the group was most incomplete, and dispersion was indicated. The same thing was done with a collection of works by the several worthies of the Mather family. The collection was perhaps representative, but can still be located, as can the Apianus, by means of the catalogue.

The "juveniles," the small group of children's books, offered a special problem. Fragile, battered by overenthusiastic former owners, they seemed unlikely to survive on the shelves of the general collections. A solution was to keep them separately as a matter of preservation of their physical condition.

Almost every library has a little group of "Oh, my!" books. These are books peculiarly well adapted to display, books handy to have centrally located and easily accessible for the benefit of visiting firemen . . . V.I.P.'s. These have strong pretensions to being made a special collection. For some of them, at the Clements Library, a special category was created, and a special shelf is kept for them where their curiosity value can be intelligently exploited. There are the estrays from the nation's wars, the bombed-out books from European libraries brought back by American soldiers, hornbooks, wampum, and extraordinary bindings, along with Continental currency and dubious greenbacks.

Music in the Clements Library is mostly of two kinds, early tunebooks and sheet music. Neither collection is large. The tunebooks, oblong and awkwardly shaped, have been assigned a place with the separate collections. The sheet music, thoroughly catalogued, has been shelved in bound volumes of folded leaves into which sheet music can be slipped. Each of these compartments is given a number, by means of which the piece of sheet music

can be quickly located within a volume. The volumes themselves have been assigned a somewhat arbitrary date in the folio chronology, a date which represents the decade in which most of the pieces of sheet music were published.

The tunebooks, like the various editions of a single work and the other special collections so far considered, are themselves arranged chronologically, forming in effect yet another chronology.

Broadsides are an exception to the chronological arrangement generally favored at the Clements Library. When the collection first came to the University, the items were in heavy, non-sulphite pasteboard folders, arranged alphabetically according to main entry. They were housed in separate cases, apart from the book collections, and this scheme has been continued. The general policy of the Clements Library so far is against addition of much broadside material and the collection has thus not been a problem.

Newspapers were accorded a special division in the library by the architect. There they are kept in alphabetical arrangement by states. Under the state, they are arranged alphabetically by towns where published, and under the town, by the name under which the paper was finally known. Periodicals are also kept separately, arranged alphabetically according to main entry.

Pamphlet material, to the Clements Library classifier, means mostly off-prints and reprints. Where practical these are bound and treated as books. A certain number, however, have accumulated for assorted reasons over the quarter century and more of the library's existence. These have been allotted a special case in the Bibliography Room and are arranged alphabetically by main entry. Frankly, every effort is made to keep from adding to this collection. Where the General Library of the University will keep and bind such off-prints, a duplicate is not usually kept at the Clements Library.

Proximity to the General Library of the University has lessened the problem of microfilms, photostats, and facsimiles. No

microfilms are kept at the Clements Library. A small file of photostats, arranged according to the date a photostat is made and provided with a card catalogue arranged according to the main entry of the work from which the photostat was made, takes care of the majority of the photostats.

In a few cases, photostatic copies of works have been bound and retained in the collections. Thus, the Massachusetts Historical Society Photostat Americana series is in the Clements Library. Here, the photostat has been shelved at the date of the original. On the other hand, where new material has been added to the original text, as in the case of many facsimile reprints, the work is shelved at the date the photostat was made or the facsimile reprinted.

Along with rare source materials, a good many secondary historical works came to the library. Some were acquired for or by Mr. Clements. Others have been added as especially noteworthy achievements in modern historiography. This collection is largely for the use of readers working with the major collections of the library.

Architecturally, the building allowed for separate housing of this collection. A special classification scheme for the books was worked out by F. L. D. Goodrich, Librarian Emeritus of The College of the City of New York, and Bibliographical Consultant of the Clements Library. It is based on the Dewey geographical divisions, with the variations thought necessary by the originator. The individual items are assigned Cutter numbers as subheadings under the general call number provided by the classification scheme, as shown in the accompanying Table "B."

The bibliographical collection, necessarily large and highly specialized, also needed separate handling. Since the interest of the library is Americana, virtually all the bibliographical works are concerned with this subject. This meant that the classification schemes provided by Dewey and the Library of Congress to cover the entire field of bibliography were insufficiently detailed. A

decimal classification system, based on subject in most cases, was evolved. The originator of the scheme, while doubtful at the time, is now thoroughly convinced that here, as in the historical secondary collection, a Cutter number from main entry should have been provided for each item, as an addition to the call number. An outline of the scheme (Table "C") will be found at the end of this paper.

The Lenox-Eames classification, as has been noted, allows the shelving of a book without marking the outside of that book. To speed locating, however, dummy books, with half leather bindings, have been put in the cases of the library, always at the same relative position in each case. These indicate, by dates on the spine of the dummy book, the contents of the case in question. This, of course, is a help for the staff rather than the general user of the library since in a rare book library the books are taken out and shelved by staff members only.

Within the book, the call number is written on the upper left corner of the inside back cover, or blank page nearest the end if the end papers will not take a pencil mark easily. Pencil is the only marking used for the call number. The book also has the library's bookplate. Protection is furnished first, by the staff, second by the locked cases and careful general surveillance of the library, and finally, by the bookplate. A secret mark is also used.

The call number appears on the main entry cards, again in pencil, and also on the shelf list cards. It might be worth noting that in the Clements Library there is a shelf list card for every item in the library, regardless of whether or not the item may be "bound-with" another title. Using a chronological basis for the call number means that two books might have the same call number. In a relatively small library, this is not significant.

The Lenox-Eames scheme works for the rare book collections of Americana at the William L. Clements Library. How well it would work at another library would seem to depend

pretty largely upon how good the cataloguing of that other library might be. In abandoning subject arrangement, the catalogue must come in to substitute.

"A"

Call numbers used in the William L. Clements Library.

- | | |
|------|--|
| C | (C, for the first chronology, in the Rare Book Room. |
| 1498 | (1498, the date of publication of the book. |
| Co | (Co, the first two letters of the main entry for the book. |
| C2 | (C2, for the secondary chronology, in the Main Room. |
| 1498 | |
| Co | |
| F | (F, for a folio or out-size volume, in the Rare Book Room. |
| 1498 | |
| Co | |
| F2 | (F2, for a folio or out-size volume in the Main Room. |
| 1498 | |
| Co | |
| EA | (Locates book, as in Alcove of Main Room. |
| CC | (Locates collection, <i>Columbus Collection</i> . |
| Co | |
| H363 | (Locates book, as with secondary historical works. |
| B46 | (Cuttered main entry. |
| 105 | (Locates book, as in Bibliography Room. |
| B46 | |

"B"

Classification Scheme used for secondary historical works housed as a separate collection in the William L. Clements Library.

- | | |
|-----|---|
| H | History (General) |
| H 1 | Discoveries, Voyages (World) |
| H 2 | Voyages to and Explorations in the Americas |
| H 3 | Latin America, including Mexico and West Indies |

- | | | |
|------|-----|--|
| H 3 | A | Argentina |
| | B | Bolivia |
| | B 2 | Brazil |
| | C | Chile |
| | C 2 | Colombia |
| | C 3 | Costa Rica |
| | E | Ecuador |
| | G | Guatemala |
| | G 2 | Guianas |
| | H | Honduras |
| | M | Mexico |
| | MY | Yucatan and Mayas |
| | N | Nicaragua |
| | P | Panama |
| | P 2 | Paraguay |
| | P 3 | Peru |
| | S | Salvador |
| | U | Uruguay |
| | V | Venezuela |
| | W | West Indies |
| H 4 | | Canada |
| H 42 | | Canada, French Period |
| H 4 | A | Alberta |
| | B | British Columbia |
| | M | Manitoba |
| | N | New Brunswick |
| | N 2 | Nova Scotia |
| | O | Ontario |
| | P | Prince Edward Island |
| | Q | Quebec |
| | S | Saskatchewan |
| H 5 | | Newfoundland, Labrador, Greenland, Iceland |
| H 6 | | United States of America |
| H 61 | | Primitive America and Indians |
| H 62 | | Colonial Period |
| H 63 | | Revolution |

- H 64 Confederation and Constitution
- H 65 War of 1812 and Middle Period
- H 66 War with Mexico and pre-Civil War
- H 67 Civil War
- H 68 Post Civil War
- United States Sectional and Local History
- H 6 A New England
 - A 1 Connecticut
 - A 2 Maine
 - A 3 Massachusetts
 - A 4 New Hampshire
 - A 5 Rhode Island
 - A 6 Vermont
- H 6 B North Atlantic
 - B 1 District of Columbia
 - B 2 Delaware
 - B 3 Maryland
 - B 4 New Jersey
 - B 5 New York
 - B 6 Pennsylvania
 - B 7 West Virginia
- H 6 C South in general; Southeastern States
 - C 1 Florida
 - C 2 Georgia
 - C 3 North Carolina
 - C 4 Puerto Rico
 - C 5 South Carolina
 - C 6 Virgin Islands
 - C 7 Virginia
- H 6 D Gulf and South Central States
 - D 1 Alabama
 - D 2 Arkansas
 - D 3 Louisiana
 - D 4 Mississippi
 - D 5 Oklahoma
 - D 6 Tennessee
 - D 7 Texas

- | | | |
|-----|------|--|
| H 6 | E | Mississippi Valley, Old Northwest, North Central |
| | E 1 | Illinois |
| | E 2 | Indiana |
| | E 3 | Iowa |
| | E 4 | Kentucky |
| | E 5 | Michigan |
| | E 6 | Minnesota |
| | E 7 | Missouri |
| | E 8 | Ohio |
| | E 9 | Wisconsin |
| H 6 | F | Western and Mountain States |
| | F 1 | Arizona |
| | F 2 | Colorado |
| | F 3 | Idaho |
| | F 4 | Kansas |
| | F 5 | Montana |
| | F 6 | Nebraska |
| | F 7 | Nevada |
| | F 8 | New Mexico |
| | F 9 | North Dakota |
| | F 10 | South Dakota |
| | F 11 | Utah |
| | F 12 | Wyoming |
| H 6 | G | Pacific States, Territories, Pacific Islands |
| | G 1 | Alaska |
| | G 2 | California |
| | G 3 | Guam |
| | G 4 | Hawaii |
| | G 5 | Oregon |
| | G 6 | Philippine Islands |
| | G 7 | Washington |
| H 7 | | Europe |
| H 7 | E | England |

“C”

Classification Scheme used for bibliographical works housed as a separate collection in the William L. Clements Library.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 100 Universal Bibliography
- 101 Theory and Technique of Bibliography
- 102 Handbooks, Outlines, and Manuals of Bibliography
- 103 Dictionaries of Anonyms and Pseudonyms
- 104 Miscellaneous Bibliographical Essays
- 105 Periodicals, Societies, and Clubs
- 106 Collections of Prices
- 110 Individual Authors
- 120 Individual Books and Series of Books
- 130 Subject, Non-Geographical
- 140 Subject, Geographical
- 150 Book Dealers
- 160 Book Collecting and Book Collectors
- 170 Collections (Catalogues)
- 180 Individual Bibliographers
- 190 Libraries
- 195 Libraries, Publications (except those of the Clements Library)

PRINTING

- 200 General Works
- 210 Printers and Presses (alphabetically)
- 220 Printing by Place of Impression (alphabetically)
- 230 Printing, Theory, Practice, and Technique

RELATED SUBJECTS

- 300 Paper
- 310 Binding
- 320 Bookplates
- 330 Autographs
- 340 Book Illustration

GENERAL REFERENCE WORKS

- 410 Dictionaries, Foreign
- 415 Dictionaries, English
- 420 Encyclopedias
- 430 General Manuals

BIOGRAPHY

- 500 Universal
- 510 American
- 520 European

LITERATURE

- 610 European
- 620 American

HISTORY

- 710 General Reference
- 720 Geographical

SPECIAL

- 730 British Museum Catalogue

SPECIAL REFERENCE

- 800 Most Frequently Used References in Bibliography, Sabin, Evans,
&c.

CLEMENTS

- 900 Publications by or about William L. Clements Library, Library
staff members, readers

The "Humours" of Samuel Rowlands

By SARAH DICKSON

A BIBLIOGRAPHER of tobacco books must (for nearly two centuries after the plant was brought to the old world) be content to leave the highroad and to walk in the byways of literature. Shakespeare and Milton never mentioned the "divine herb"; Montaigne and Cervantes do not seem to have known of it. To be sure, there were Bacon, Ben Jonson and Spenser in England, all of whom gave the new plant and the newly fashionable habit of smoking notable attention, and the great Molière wrote a panegyric on snuff. But in the sixteenth century humanists like Erasmus and More were just too early to condemn smoking as a folly, or praise it as an anodyne for the exhausting toils of controversy. The custom had not spread far enough in Europe to come to the attention of the great reformers like Luther and Calvin. As they were not averse from the good things of this life, they might have been willing to accept a pipe as readily as a glass of old wine. It remained for a much lesser man, King James the First of England, to write the greatest diatribe on tobacco, the "Counterblaste," and for a minor poet, Sir John Beaumont, to sing admiringly of the plant.¹

—which should assuage
The wounds, which sorrow in our hearts did fixe.

But it is not Beaumont, or the lesser known doctor-poet, Raphael Thorius (Thör), who wrote a Latin epyllion praising the weed, in meticulous dactylic hexameters,² or the minuscule po-

¹ In *The Metamorphosis of Tobacco* (London, John Flasket, 1602).

² *Hymnus Tabaci* (Leyden, Elzevier, 1626). It is worth noting that, of the two English translations of this poem published in the next hundred years, neither ap-

etaster, Joshua Sylvester, who produced a long-winded and tedious effusion in heroic couplets,³ whom we should call the laureate of tobacco. It is Samuel Rowlands, most undeservedly neglected of Jacobean writers. He wrote in his productive years, from roughly 1600 to 1630, forty poems or portions of poems about smoking. Some of these extended to fifty or sixty lines. His published works, numbering twenty-eight, were of chapbook length, so that it is evident how important he considered tobacco.

It is not possible within the limits of this study to mention all the separate works of Rowlands; he attempted every literary form except the drama and the essay. With the exception of several religious poetical works his books consisted of collections of satires and epigrams, types of poetry which had become very popular at the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁴

It would be folly to hope, at this late date, to add to the existing knowledge concerning such great Elizabethan and Jacobean authors as Marlowe, Shakespeare or Spenser. Their works were treasured by their contemporaries and by posterity, have been reprinted many times, and generations of scholars have labored painstakingly to assemble and verify each precious fact about the authors. But it is different with the lesser writers of that age so crowded with genius. Much of their writing was done to catch the pennies of a public not too discriminating, but eager to be amused or horrified. Copies of such slight works survived only by a minor miracle; most were read to pieces. With such an author one can hope to discover something new; few libraries have their first editions, and even reprints are scarce and hard to obtain, as will appear in the sequel. Rowlands is such an author; he produced poetry to make a living, and apparently had no patron or even many close associates among his contemporaries,

proached the elegance of the original. No recent version is recorded, perhaps because the lengthy passages on the medical uses of tobacco are not to modern taste.

³ *Tobacco battered & the Pipes shattered* (London, H. Lowndes, 1616).

⁴ These were longer and less formal in style than their classical counterparts.

if one may judge by the few introductory poems written by others in his books. He wrote to please the taste of the moment (which he was quick to gauge), and not for the ages. His first editions are fantastically rare; they and the later editions are mostly known in one, two or three copies. He was not reprinted in the eighteenth century, and more recent reprints are almost as scarce as the originals. In his case an interested (though humble) laborer in the literary vineyard may hope to find out something new—something (magic phrase) "hitherto unknown to bibliographers."

Sir Walter Scott and Sir Edmund Gosse are the only men of letters, as distinct from writers about literature, who have made a critical estimate of Samuel Rowlands. Modern anthologists of seventeenth-century poetry have not cared to include any work by him.⁵ And yet some of the authors quoted might better have been omitted. Sir Walter Scott, certainly no mean critic and a poet whose work could not possibly be left out of any English anthology, considered Rowlands important enough to edit a reprint of the 1611 edition of *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*.⁶ Grand old Sir Walter—always ready with praise for a fellow-craftsman—is as generous to the seventeenth-century poet as to his own contemporaries.

Of these two critics of Rowlands, Gosse, able and versatile as he was, was by far less important as a literary figure. In the memoir of the author which he wrote for the Hunterian Club reprint of Rowlands' work⁷ he criticizes a number at some length, apportioning rather patronizing praise and blame. After saying:

⁵ For instance, in *The Oxford Book of Seventeenth Century Verse* (Oxford University Press, 1934), edited by Grierson and Bullough, not a line of Rowlands appears, and yet Joshua Sylvester is represented.

⁶ Edinburgh, William Blackwood, 1814. In a presentation copy containing an autograph letter in the Arents Tobacco Collection Scott refers to his reprint as "very scarce."

⁷ *The Complete Works of Samuel Rowlands*, edited by Edmund Gosse, 3 vols. ([Glasgow], The Hunterian Club, 1880).

"Yet, however accidental the merit may be, we cannot refuse to Rowlands the praise of having made the London of Shakespeare almost more vivid to us than any other author has done," he nevertheless sums up his appraisal by calling his subject "A poet of considerable talent without one spark or glimmer of genius." This might be equally well applied as an estimate of himself.

Scott's essay on Rowlands, prefixed to the reprint already mentioned, is not easily to be found in editions of his works; it is certainly a good example of his critical powers. His approach is that of the antiquarian and bibliophile as well as of the literary man. But quotation is better than paraphrase. "The literary merit of a rare work⁸ is a postponed object of enquiry to the Bibliomaniac," says Sir Walter, "but even in this point of view something may be said for the credit of our author," and his final judgment is expressed: "Those who make the manners of Shakespeare's day the subject of their study may better spare a better poet than Samuel Rowlands." Surely then, in the teeth of the anthologists, we are wise to read such an author, and the bibliography of his works has continuing interest.

The bibliographic knowledge concerning Rowlands was summed up in the Hunterian Club reprint of his works; this was supplemented by the *Short-Title Catalogue* (1926) and the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (1941).⁹ Of the works included, one, *Martin Markall*, 1610, has been proved to be by

⁸ Gosse, who reprints this essay in full, quotes Dibdin in *The Library Companion* (London, Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1825), p. 711, as saying that a complete set of Rowlands' writings could not be obtained under the sum of 300 sovereigns. We may ruefully note, after a century and a quarter, that such a collection could not be purchased today for any sum whatsoever.

⁹ Edited by F. W. Bateson (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1941), II: 707-708. No less than eleven of the books of Rowlands were reprinted in the nineteenth century, some more than once (*op. cit. supra*). Earlier bibliographical notices appear in J. Ritson, *Bibliographia Poetica* (London, G. and W. Nicol, 1802), p. 316; Sir S. Egerton Brydges, *Censura Literaria* (London, Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1806), II: 150; J. P. Collier, *A Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language* (London, J. Lilly, 1825), pp. 281-284. For references in Hazlitt and the Heber catalogue, *v. infra*.

Samuel Rid, identity of initials being, as is often the case, the cause of the wrong ascription. Two of the works, originally thought to have disappeared, have turned up in two American libraries.¹⁰ I expect to add another work, not previously attributed to Rowlands. Of the various editions I will consider only seven in detail, each of which has the word "Humor" in the title.¹¹ Several other works will be mentioned incidentally, as appearing contemporaneously.

Rowlands in his prefatory poem to *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, 1600 (the first of his seven "humours"), says "To the Gentlemen Readers":

Humours, is late crowned king of Caueeleres,
Fantastique-follies, grac'd with common fauour. . . .

Even at the risk of repeating well-known lines it is best to quote Ben Jonson himself, king of humour-mongers, who says:

. . . When some peculiar quality
Doth so possess a man, that it doth draw
All his affects, his spirits, and his powers,
In their confusions, all to run one way;
This may be truly said to be a Humour.
But that a rook, by wearing a pyed feather,
The cable hat-band, or the three-piled ruff,
A yard of shoe-tye, or the Switzer's knot
On his French garters, should affect a Humour.
O, it is more than most ridiculous.

As Scott observes: Rowlands "has given us numerous instances both of the real and of the pseudo-humourist."

In 1599 seven books of satires and epigrams by John Marston and others were burned by order of Archbishop Whitgift and the Bishop of London; three works escaped the fire, among them Joseph Hall's *Virgidemiarum*. These were ordered to be "staid."

¹⁰ *The Bride*, at Harvard University and *The Theatre of Divine Recreations*, at the Folger Shakespeare Library.

¹¹ Of these only three were reprinted, *v. infra*.

The order directed that "noe Satyres or Epigrams be printed hereafter." This order was issued because the books offended against morality. In 1600 two of Samuel Rowlands' works of satires and epigrams, which he had temerarily caused to be printed, were also burned.¹² The order for burning read, in part: "They shal be publiquely burnt the whole impressions of them for that they conteyne matters unfytt to be published."

The two books were *A mery Metinge, or 'tis mery when Knaves mete*, which has vanished entirely,¹³ and *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine* (first of the humour books by Rowlands) of which four copies miraculously have survived. On the fourth of March, 1601, it is recorded that twenty-nine stationers paid fines for buying copies of the second-named work, "beinge newe printed after yt was first forbydden and burnt." If such an issue was printed we have no extant examples, unless some minor differences in the four known copies of the first edition indicate that one or more of these belong to this second printing. In his *Bibliographical Account*¹⁴ John Payne Collier assigns a quite different reason for the burning of this book, namely that it gave offense because of the severity of its satire and the obviousness of its allusions to living persons. That this is not the case is clear from the wording of the order as given above. It would be improbable also because in the second edition, under the title of *Humors Ordinarie*, of a few years later, the text remains unchanged, and presumably the same persons were living at the time.

The relationship of the five editions of *The Letting of Humours Blood* with each other and with two other "Humours" of Samuel Rowlands is complicated because several errors have crept into the bibliography of the author, and because no issues ex-

¹² C. R. Gillett, *Burned Books* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1932), I: 90-93.

¹³ An edition was printed in 1609 under the title of *The Knave of Clubbes*.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, II: 284.

cept the first and fourth (almost identical) were ever reprinted. These, with the fifth, were all printed by William White, and had the same name (*v. supra*). The second and third, issued by William Ferbrand, had the title *Humors Ordinarie*; these differ in several important respects from the three White editions. In the second of them (1607) a number of important additions were made, some of which were never reprinted by Rowlands. Apparently neither was examined by Sir Edmund Gosse¹⁵ for the Hunterian Club edition, since in the prefatory note it is stated that any new matter added to later editions was all included in a section of "Miscellaneous Poems" appended to the last volume. But none of the additional poems of *Humors Ordinarie* is there reprinted. In the earlier, undated, edition there is a new "Satir" before the first epigram. In the 1607 issue there are fifty-seven instead of thirty-seven epigrams and one satire found in the 1600 edition has been omitted. These new poems are of importance as they relate this book to the author's *Humors Looking Glasse* of 1608, and this book in turn is connected with another work, *Humors Antique Faces*, not signed by Rowlands and hitherto unattributed to him.

The first of the two editions under the title *Humors Ordinarie*, which has the same contents as the 1600 edition of *The Letting of Humours Blood*, with the slight addition above noted, is assigned in the *Short-Title Catalogue* to a date before 1603. This agrees with the date given by Sir Sidney Lee in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; he cites the authority of Heber. In the fourth part of the Heber Catalogue (English Poetry) 1834, p. 287, a copy of this undated issue is described. The exact words are worth quoting as they show how an error can be created which can persist for a hundred years. J. P. Collier, the author of the notes in this portion of the catalogue, states that the book "was certainly print-

¹⁵ When it is considered that of the seven books of "Humours" by Rowlands only sixteen copies have come to light, in widely separated libraries, it is not surprising that some facts as to their contents remained unrecorded.

ed before the death of Queen Elizabeth, as appears from the following lines in Epigr. 19:

For as he vowes himselfe, he hath not seene
In three daies space the picture of the Queene.

In the subsequent editions of 1607, 1611, &c. the last word is altered to *King*. Another point worth notice is that in Sat. 4 of this edition Pope and Singer, the two famous actors of clowns' parts, are spoken of in the *present* tense, because they were still living, whereas they were dead in 1607, and then it was altered to the *past* tense. The lines headed 'Satir,' on the verso of Sign. A3, are not in the subsequent editions."

One of the two recorded copies of the 1607 edition of *Humors Ordinarie* is in the Arents Tobacco Collection. This edition has additional poems, as stated, to the earlier, undated edition, but it does *not* differ in the respects above mentioned. The epigrams are a little differently arranged, so that Epigram 19 is now numbered 20, but the "Queene" is still present. And in Satire 4 the present tense *is* used. Also the "Satir" is still on the verso of A3. These changes did not appear until the edition of 1611. Edward Alldee, the printer of the 1607 *Humors Ordinarie*, probably printed the undated edition also, since both were for William Ferbrand; he is known to have been somewhat careless. There are several reasons for assigning the undated issue to 1605 or even 1606; there certainly is no reason to assign it to a date earlier than the death of Elizabeth. After the burning of the original edition in 1600 and the fining of the booksellers in 1601, Rowlands would certainly not have ventured to reprint the same poems unchanged, except for the addition of the "Satir," during the lifetime of Archbishop Whitgift, and certainly not with his full name signed to the prefatory poem, as it is here. Even in 1611, when the original publisher reprinted the book as it was originally issued, he deemed it prudent to sign this poem with the author's initials reversed: "R.S." A brief mention of the works

published by Rowlands between 1600 and 1606 will strengthen the arguments just advanced.

After the burning of his two books of satires and epigrams Rowlands published, in 1602, an amusing but innocuous poem, in the form of a dialogue, entitled: "'Tis merry when Gossips meete"; this he signed with initials. In the same year he issued a prose work: *Greenes Ghost haunting Conie-catchers*, with the dedication signed "S.R." In 1603 one work¹⁶ only appeared with his initials: *Ave Caesar*, consisting of two poems, one an epitaph on Queen Elizabeth and the other a poem celebrating the coming of James I to the throne. Many other contemporary poets were producing similar effusions.

Archbishop Whitgift died in 1604, and with this event and the opening of a new reign the literary atmosphere began to change. *Autres temps, autres mœurs*. No books were burned in the reign of James I because they were unfit to be printed.¹⁷ We are not surprised, therefore, that Rowlands, who had to boil the pot, and who realized that satires on the types of high and low life who trod the streets of London sold better than his recent books, should return to his former vein. In 1604 he ventured to sign with his initials: "Looke to it; for, Ile stabbe ye." For each poem there was a wicked character, and for each character a "stabbe."

Two works are assigned to Rowlands dated 1605 in the Hunterian Club edition. One is a tedious narrative poem about John Leyden named "Hells broke loose," and the other a religious work similar to his first published book, entitled: *The Theatre of Divine Recreations* (note 10, above). In 1606 one work only is ascribed to Rowlands, the undeniably powerful *A terrible Battell betweene the two Consumers of the whole World: Time, and Death*. This is undated, but was entered in the Stationers' Register Sep-

¹⁶ Not recognized as his until 1875.

¹⁷ It is worth noting that John Marston and Joseph Hall (whose books were burned and "staid" in 1599) did not attempt any collections of satires and epigrams between 1600 and 1604, although both produced other works.

tember 16, 1606.¹⁸ This book is signed with the author's full name, the first of his to so appear.

However, a book was published in 1605, entitled *Humors Antique Faces*, which is certainly by Rowlands, although it is not signed by him. The epilogue has the initials "E.M." This work seems to have remained unnoticed, except for the entry in the Stationers' Register, January 8, 1604/5¹⁹ until Hazlitt²⁰ speaks of two copies as having been found at Althorp and Lamport Hall. It seems to have been unmentioned since except for the listing in the *Short-Title Catalogue* under "E.M." It is not recorded in the *Cambridge Bibliography* list of works containing satires and epigrams.²¹ Thus there are two additional works to be added for the years 1605 and 1606, of which one has never been in the Rowlands' canon, and the other has been mis-dated.²²

I would not, probably, have discovered Rowlands' authorship of *Humors Antique Faces* if I had not been on the track of a legend, the most interesting tobacco story related of Sir Walter Raleigh. This relates that his servant, seeing him smoking, doused him with a can of water to put out the fire. In some versions it is beer. This is comparable in tobacco annals to the myth of George Washington and the cherry tree. It has been long known that this fascinating tale was not added to the tobacco lore associated with Raleigh until the beginning of the eighteenth

¹⁸ Gosse considered this the best of Rowlands' works.

¹⁹ No author's name is given in the entry.

²⁰ W. Carew Hazlitt, *Handbook to the Popular, Poetical and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain* (London, J. R. Smith, 1867), p. 288, and *Second Series of Bibliographical Collections and Notes* (London, B. Quaritch, 1882), p. 296. Three copies are now recorded: John Rylands, Huntington and Folger.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, I: 480-481.

²² In regard to what he thought Rowlands' small output in the years 1602-1606 Gosse remarks: "Our curiosity is excited by the lapses in his composition, and we wonder how such a man subsisted in the intervals between the publication of his works." He explains that Rowlands was a business associate of William White between the years 1600 and 1605 and presumably busy in the latter's affairs; with the addition of the two works above mentioned Rowlands presumably did not suffer until several of his new works, afterwards popular, came out in 1607.

century. In the earliest extant edition of *Tarlton's Jests* (1638)²³ the event is related as happening to Richard Tarlton, the comedian, who died in 1588. That such an occurrence could be previous to this date is unlikely; it is more probable that the editor attached the current popular tale of the early seventeenth century to a figure already legendary. In the account there given Tarlton was smoking in the presence of several drunken companions who had never before seen such an act. One threw wine in his face to put out the fire. The earliest version of this story in print was hitherto thought to be a poem in Rowlands' *Humors Looking Glasse* (1608).²⁴ Since there is only one copy of the first edition in this country and Collier's reprint in the *Yellow Series* (1870) is extremely scarce it seems worth quoting here.²⁵ It makes no mention of Tarlton.

Epigram

One of the damned crew that liues by drinke,
And by Tobacco's stillified stink,
Met with a Country man that dwelt at Hull:
Thought he this pesant's fit to be my Gull.
His first salute like to the French-mans wipe,
Wordes of encounter, please you take a pipe?
The Countrie man amazed at this rabble,
Knewe not his minde yet would be conformable.
Well, in a petty Ale-house they ensconce
His Gull must learne to drinke Tobacco once.
Indeede his purpose was to make a jest,
How with Tobacco he the peasant drest.
Hee takes a whiffe, with arte into his head,
The other standeth still astonished.
Till all his sences he doth backe reuoake,

²³ An edition of *Tarlton's Jests* was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1609, but no copy survives.

²⁴ Rowlands' version was unknown to G. L. Apperson (*The Social History of Smoking* [London, Martin Secker, 1914], p. 17); in telling the episode he associates it with Tarlton.

²⁵ Most anthologists of tobacco have overlooked the poem; it is printed in full in *Tobacco; its History illustrated by the Books, Manuscripts and Engravings in the Library of George Arents Jr.*, edited by Jerome E. Brooks (New York, The Rosenbach Company, 1937), I: 461.

Sees it ascend much like Saint Katherins smoake.
 But this indeede made him the more admire,
 He saw the smoke: thought he his head's a fier,
 But to increase his feare he thought poore soule,
 His scarlet nose had been a frie cole.
 Which circled round with smoak, seemed to him
 Like to some rotten brand that burneth dim.
 But to shew wisdom in a desperat case,
 He threw a Can of beere into his face,
 And like a man some furie did inspire,
 Ran out of doores for helpe to quench the fire.
 The Ruffin throwes away his Trinidado,
 Out comes huge oathes and then his short poynado,
 But then the Beere so troubled his eyes,
 The countrieman was gone ere he could rise,
 A fier to drie him he doth now require,
 Rather than water for to quench his fire.²⁶

It was recently pointed out to me that two tobacco poems were included in *Humors Antique Faces* (1605), a book I had never seen.²⁷ One was said to contain a version of the Raleigh tobacco story. This was a find beyond price; it would be possible, perhaps, to determine the origin and first promulgation of a smoking legend which had never been traced to its source. Having, by the generosity of the Huntington Library, been permitted to acquire a photostat of this precious book, I discovered that the epigram just quoted was one of twenty-two poems (including the dedication, prologue and epilogue) contained in it. And so one must decide, until further evidence is found, that no earlier version exists, and that Samuel Rowlands is the author of the first printing of the story.

²⁶ In the 30th Epigram of *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine* (1600) Rowlands refers to Richard Tarlton in terms which make it seem probable that he had seen stage performances by the comedian. If the story related of the can of beer and the smoker had been attached to Tarlton's name at that time it is likely that the poet would have said so, since he appears to have been the first to print any version (*v. infra*).

²⁷ I am indebted to Dr. William Ringler of Princeton University for this valuable information.

But, even more than this, I found that nine of the twenty-two were exactly the same as nine in *Humors Looking Glasse* (1608), which is signed by Rowlands with his full name. It is clear that *Humors Antique Faces* is one of Rowlands' also; style and phraseology, as well as subjects, are entirely in the vein of *The Letting of Humours Blood*. That the book is closely connected with *Humors Looking Glasse* is clear from a comparison of the title-pages; certainly the similarity of title does not appear to be a coincidence, and all doubt is removed after a perusal of the poem at the beginning of the later work:

Reader.

As many antique faces passe,
 From Barbers chaire unto his glasse
 There to beholde their kinde of trim,
 And how they are reform'd by him,
 Or at *Exchang* where Marchants greete
 Confusion of the tongues do meete,
As English, French, Italian, Dutch,
Spanish, and Scotch, with divers such.
 So from the Presse these papers come
 To show the humourous shapes of some.
 Heere are such faces good and bad,
 As in a Barbers shop are had,
 And heere are tongues of diuers kindes,
 According to the speakers mindes.
 Beholde their fashions, heare their voice,
 And let discretion make thy choice.

Samuel Rowlands.

It would seem likely that *Humors Antique Faces* was issued without his name in 1605 to try the temper of the public taste.²⁸ It was his first collection of epigrams since the ill-starred *Letting of Humours Blood*. That it was a success is, in my opinion, proved

²⁸ It is an interesting coincidence that Joseph Hall, whose early book of satires just missed the fate of Rowlands', should have brought out in 1605 a satiric work, although widely different, entitled *Mundus Alter et Idem* (Frankfurt [London, H. Lownes, 1605]), under the pseudonym "Mercurius Britannicus," and with a fictitious imprint.



HVMORS ANTIQUE *FACES.*

Drawne in proportion to his seuerall
Antique lectures.



L O N D O N
Imprinted for Henry Rockett, and are to bee
solde at the long Shop vnder S. Mildreds Church
in the Poultry. 1605. +



by the fact that a second edition of the earlier book, now called *Humors Ordinarie*, was printed in about 1606 and still another, also with his full name, in 1607.

The ten other epigrams of *Humors Antique Faces* were not reprinted by Rowlands. Among them is an epigram entirely on tobacco, not previously known to students of tobacco literature. It has an idea afterward used by him in a longer poem (*v. infra*) and it certainly is worth quoting, especially as it can otherwise only be read by persons lucky enough to see one of the three copies of the first edition.

Epigram

A Poore Slaue once with penurie afflicted,
 Yet to Tobacco mightily adicted
 Sayes, they that take Tobacco keepes their health,
 Are worthy fellowes in a common wealth.
 For if (sayth he) Tobacco were our cheare,
 Then other victuals neuer would be deere.
 Fye on excesse; it makes men faint and meeke
 A pennie loafe might serue a man a weeke
 Were we conform'd to the Camelions fare,
 To liue by smoake as they doe liue by ayre
 O how our men oppresse and spoyle their sence,
 in making hauoke of the elements.
 He can giue reason for what he hath spoake.
 My Salamander liues by fire and smoake.
 Necessitie doth cause him to repeate,
 Tobaccos praise for want of other meate.

This is unmistakably Rowlands' work by internal evidence, as are the other ten poems not afterward reprinted. We have only to compare the tobacco epigram with the celebrated poem in praise of tobacco, so often printed in smoking anthologies: "The Devil's Health-Drinker."²⁹ Since it can be found easily in modern works I resist a strong temptation to quote it in full, giving only the opening lines, and the passage about living on smoke:

²⁹ First printed in *The Knaue of Clubbes* (London, W. Ferbrand, 1609).

Who dares dispraise Tobacco
While the smoke is in my nose?

.....

When as my purse can not affoord
My stomacke flesh or fish,
I sup with smoke and feede as well
And fat, as one can wish

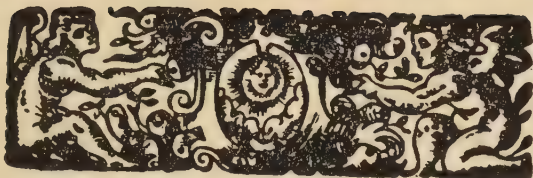
.....

Much victuals serue, for gluttony,
To fatten men like swine,
But hee's a frugal man indeed,
That with a leafe can dine.
And needs no napkin for his hands,
His fingers ends to wipe,
But keepes his kitchin in a box,
His rost-meat in a pipe.

Leaving *Humors Antique Faces*³⁰ and returning to the undated edition of *Humors Ordinarie*, which I have assigned to 1606, it would seem probable that Rowlands, having embarked again on his *Humours*, would decide that it was a vein to be worked. So when he and Ferbrand decided on a second issue of the collection which had been burned in 1600 they adopted a new name which was similar to his anonymous work of the preceding year, and *Humors Ordinarie* was chosen. This he signed in full, as he did another book printed the same year. The pot must be boiled, and the old book, suppressed in Elizabeth's time, could be reprinted to earn good money under King James, especially since other poets were bringing out similar collections. In 1607, another edition, with the same name, but with twenty additional epigrams, was brought out by the same publisher.

Then, with the same printer and publisher, *Humors Looking Glasse*, another in the series, appeared in 1608. As previously

³⁰ The initials "E.M." signed to the epilogue are certainly not to be identified. As Dr. Hyder Rollins remarked in his edition of *England's Helicon* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1935), initials prove nothing. The initials "A.B." signed to the dedication and prefatory sonnet in that work he decided were equivalent to "John Doe." They have never been identified.



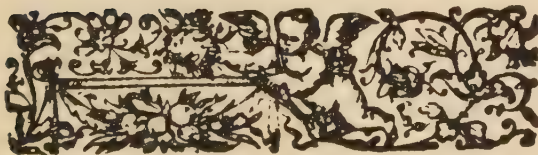
HVMORS LOOKING Glasse.



LONDON.

Imprinted by Ed. Allde for *VV*illiam Fere-
brand and are to be sold at his Shop in
the popes-head Pallace, right over a-
gainst the Tauerne-dore.

1608.



stated, nine of the poems had been printed in *Humors Antique Faces*. Thirteen of the others were taken from the additional poems in the 1607 edition of *Humors Ordinarie*; three only had never been published before. It is thus seen to be a second edition rather than an independent work. William White, the original publisher of the work of 1600, then republished it in 1611 and 1613 (*v. supra*). So the books of *Humours* enjoyed a great success. Rowlands now turned to a series of *Knaves*, but we leave him when he is "out of his Humour."

John Davies of Kidwelly (1627?-1693), Translator from the French

With an Annotated Bibliography of his Translations

By JOSEPH E. TUCKER

JOHN Davies of Kidwelly (1627?-1693), the most active translator from the French in his age, made available to English readers well over a score of French works. In quality these renditions come up neither to the lively re-creations of a Florio, nor to the more sober excellence of a Scott-Moncrieff. The later seventeenth century had not yet shaped a clear ideal for the translator, and Davies' practice shows the confusion then current as to whether English translation should be "free" or "literal." Davies' translations, hence, are nearly forgotten today, but his career—inasmuch as it was such an active and representative one—may still have significance if it can illustrate the important place occupied by English translators and their translations in the later seventeenth-century world of letters.

I

The main facts of Davies' biography can be gleaned from his own prefaces and from his short biography of his friend, John Hall,¹ with the gaps filled in by a cautious use of Anthony à Wood.

Davies, the son of a yeoman, was born at Kidwelly in Wales in 1627.² The register of Jesus College shows that he was at Ox-

¹ Prefixed to John Hall's *Hierocles upon the Golden Verses of Pythagoras* (London, J. Streater for F. Eaglesfield, 1657).

² Wood gives 1625, but I have accepted the *D.N.B.*'s reasoning in choosing the later date.

ford in 1641, but only for a brief stay. When Oxford was garrisoned he moved on to St. John's College in Cambridge, where the precocious John Hall was his "early friend and patron."³ The *Life* of Hall reveals that Davies was in France from 1649 until late 1651, but does not tell in just what capacity.

His *début* in the world of letters was characteristically a translation from the French, Sorel's *Extravagant Shepherd* (1653). For the next twenty-five years he lived chiefly in London,⁴ with an occasional stay in his native Wales.⁵ Aubrey's references to him in the *Brief Lives* allow us to infer that Davies was well acquainted in London literary circles. In this period scarcely a twelvemonth passed without the publication of a translation by Davies, and in his most active year—1665—as many as four different translations were printed.

Save for the biography of Hall, and a few prefaces, Davies' time appears to have been given over exclusively to translation.⁶ There is no reason to believe that he was a man of means, and for a living he was evidently dependent upon payments from publishers and the fondly-hoped-for returns from epistles dedicatory. I find no certain evidence that he accepted other employment concurrent with his translation.

No new translations appeared after 1680 (there were, however, several reprints of earlier works), and if we may believe Wood, Davies spent his last years at Kidwelly, where he died in 1693.

If we dust off Davies' well-dimmed fame today, it is chiefly because, among the many translators of the Restoration, he can be singled out as the one who gave his contemporaries not only

³ Ep. Ded. to *The Ancient Rites . . . of . . . Cathedral Church of Durham*.

⁴ In the Ep. Ded. to the *Ceremonies of the Vacant See* (1671) Davies mentions his "long residence at London."

⁵ There is mention of a stay at Thomas Stanley's residence at Cumberlow in the Ep. Ded. to *Scarron's Novels* (1665), and of a visit to an uncle in Wales, in the Ep. Ded. to *The Egyptian History* (1672).

⁶ I find no certain evidence that the *Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland*, not a translation, and frequently ascribed to him, is really from his pen.

the most generous, but also the most representative sampling of French intellectual life. As a literary craftsman dependent on his pen for a living, he perforce had to keep a sharp eye on contemporary intellectual tastes. He did not, however, choose to translate merely frivolous accounts of court intrigue—as he might well have done if he had aimed only at popular favor. Almost all the works he chose to render English were of real significance for the enlightened public of his age. As early as 1665 his friend James Howell, fellow Welshman who already had the distinction of being England's first Historiographer Royal, complimented Davies thus: “. . . you discover also much judgment in the election of your authors who are much oblig'd to you for your exact fidelity in rendring them.”⁷ To read through Davies' bibliography (given at the end of this article) is to be struck by his eclectic taste. Nearly all the literary *genres* popular in contemporary English literature are represented; the omissions are rare, and sometimes significant.

It is to the novel that Davies devoted most attention. Sorel's *Extravagant Shepherd* (1653) was his earliest published translation, and his interest in French prose tales continued until 1670, somewhat lessening, it is true, as the vogue for the *roman de longue haleine* died down. Mlle. de Scudéry, La Calprenède, Castillo Savorsano (<French) are represented, but on the basis of popularity it is surely the king of burlesque, Scarron, who triumphed in Davies' English dress. From the earliest translation of certain of the tales (*circa* 1660) which so charmed Pepys that he read one of the stories *d'un seul trait* and pronounced it “the best writ tale that ever I read in my life,” (*Diary*, Oct. 15, 1660) right down to the dawn of the next century new editions of Davies' renditions continued to appear.

Works on science, philosophy, and religion occupy in Davies' bibliography that same major place they held in the publishers' lists of the age. Cureau de la Chambre, of whom Dryden's friend

⁷ Preface to Davies' translation of La Chambre's *Art How to Know Men* (1665).

Walsh said "... no [other] man has treated ye passions so judiciously and so floridly,"⁸ is included with his *Art How to Know Men* (1665). In the same year Davies undertook jointly with George Havers the translation of the substantial second folio volume of Eusèbe Renaudot's *Another Collection of Philosophical Discourses*, a sort of poor-man's Montaigne. Works of David Blondel and Gilles Boileau, likewise, claimed Davies' attention. The more significant Descartes, indeed, is represented only obliquely, in the anonymous *Reflections upon M. Des Cartes's Discourse* (1654), and the Jansenist Pascal is completely neglected. But when the Catholic question came to the political foreground, Davies translated—somewhat apologetically indeed—the *Ceremonies of the Vacant See, or, a True Relation of what Passes at Rome upon the Pope's Death . . .* (1671) which was successful enough to have three editions (those of 1677 and 1689 under the title of *The New Pope*). Davies' Protestant sympathies were reaffirmed with the translation in 1680 of *The Religion of the Dutch* (second edition, 1681).

History and travel accounts are well represented. Histories of the "Caribby-Islands," of Algiers, and of Egypt, as well as the Olearius-Mandelslo travels to Muscovy, Persia and the East Indies are included in this eclectic list. To the historical writing found in several of the works on religion previously cited must likewise be added Gabriel Naudé's *History of Magick* and two Rapin essays.

The literary correspondences of Voiture and of that hardy perennial Scarron add another two titles to a list which is completed by two⁹ volumes of aphorisms—one of which has been discovered only recently to be an unacknowledged¹⁰ translation of La Rochefoucauld.

⁸ Charles E. Ward, ed., *The Letters of John Dryden, With Letters Addressed to Him* ([Durham, N.C.], Duke University Press, 1942), p. 43.

⁹ Possibly three, if the *Political and Military Observations* (1679) is eventually discovered to have a French original.

¹⁰ But perhaps not intentionally so, for the pirated Dutch edition of La Roche-

The outstanding omissions here are in verse and in the drama, both of which were completely neglected by Davies who has not, however, let us know whether it was because he thought these *genres* less rewarding in translation, or because he felt his particular talent unsuited to these veins.

It is not surprising to find that, almost without exception, Davies' translations were chosen from recent French publications. The repertory of translations in the mid-seventeenth century shows that there had not yet developed much of an historical sense with regard to translations from the French. Except for reprintings of a very few old favorites such as the medieval romances of the Amadis de Gaule lineage, and of a very limited number of authors such as Du Bartas, Commynes, and notably Rabelais and Montaigne, almost all translations reproduce originals which had appeared about a decade or less previously. In the case of at least one of the *romans de longue haleine* on which Davies worked, the translation was begun even before the original was finished!¹¹

From the very beginning of his career as translator, Davies furnished his renditions with a preface meant to aid his readers in situating the work in the contemporary world of French letters. The earliest of these essays, that prefixed to Sorel's *Extravagant Shepherd*, shows a remarkably broad knowledge of French literature, and in the absence of other documents, is the best indication we have that Davies' sojourn in France had been a profitable one with respect to his reading.

These prefaces show, too, that there was in the mind of the translator sometimes more than the general aim of transplanting a French work. Voiture's *Letters of Affaires, Love and Courtship* (1657), for instance, are for the enlightened public in general,

foucauld which was used as the basis for the translation had appeared anonymously. See the present writer's *The Earliest English Translation of La Rochefoucauld's Maximes*, in: *Modern Language Notes*, LXIV: 413-415 (1949).

¹¹ See Humphrey Moseley's preface to the translation of Mlle. de Scudéry's *Grand Cyrus*.

and likewise "not unfitly addressed to the great number of young students in the universities who . . . may by their serious perusall of these letters, learn to shake off their nurseries, and pedanticall correspondences, and be refin'd in some measure proportionably to the eloquence and stile of courts and cities." (*Ep. Ded.*)

The preface to the translation of *Another Collection of Philosophical Conferences* (1665), done jointly with Havers, contains a biting reflection on contemporary manners. These elegant French conversations can only benefit English society "wherein gaming makes the whole converse amongst the gentry . . . whilst old stories, or news, and (for want of matter so innocent) detractions, derisions, and abuses are the only thing that furnish talk to the plebians. . . . But 'tis to be hop'd the better practice of some excellent persons amongst ourselves, may contribute much to the reformation of this; and to help it forward, it cannot but do some good (by exciting emulation) to see what [has] been done by some gentlemen of France. . . ." The tone of the *Spectator* is here struck almost a half century before Addison and Steele.

These special aims are rounded out by a spirited defence of West Indian colonials, found in the preface to the *History of the Caribby-Islands* (1666). This relation, Davies maintains, "may likewise serve to undeceive many Europeans, who are either so ill-informed of those Islands, or so prejudic'd against them, as to be perswaded, that, for the most part, they are only refuges and receptacles of bankrupts and debauched persons; the contrary being most certain; to wit, that they are inhabited by an infinite number of families of good repute, which live civilly and in the fear of God."

If the aims, both general and specific, of the translator can be so diverse, it is—if we may repeat—because Davies interprets such a broad cross-section of the French intellectual world. And, what appears especially significant, it is an interpretation which occasionally uses French versions for a look into widely different

cultures. Davies was certainly not the first English translator to work from French intermediary translations, rather than go back to the original works in less familiar tongues. H. B. Lathrop's *Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman, 1477-1620* (Madison, University of Wisconsin, 1933) and Franck L. Schoell's *Études sur l'humanisme continental en Angleterre à la fin de la renaissance* (Paris, Champion, 1926) have commented on the considerable proportion of translations from the Latin and Greek which came into English *via* the French. Davies' originality here lies once again in his diversity, in his use of French intermediaries to make known in England texts from the Spanish, German, Arabic, and Latin.

The heavy borrowing of seventeenth-century French literature from Spanish sources is reflected in Davies' translation of Castillo Savorsano's *Garduña de Sevilla* (as *La Picara*¹²), in certain of his translations from Scarron, and finally in the *Prudential Reflections*. The borrowing, as out of Spanish and *via* the French, is acknowledged in all cases.

The substantial quarto containing Adam Olearius' *Voyages and Travels of the Ambassadors . . .* (first edition, 1662; second edition, 1669), published together with Olearius' edition of the *Travels* of his friend Mandelslo, was made English by Davies not out of the original German, but rather from A. de Wicquefort's French version which, Davies reports in his preface, he found "the most compleat."

Particular significance may be attached to the translation of *The Egyptian History, treating of the Pyramids, the Inundation of the Nile, and other Prodigies of Egypt . . .* (1672), for in it we find one of the earliest attempts to import the learning of the Near East. And here Davies, with his usual honesty, admits he has worked not from the original of Murtadha Ibn Al-Khafif, but rather from the French version of Pierre Vattier.

¹² Popular enough to have two eighteenth-century editions (neither of which gives due credit to Davies). See Bibliography no. 10.

With Davies' versions of Latin authors we touch on a particularly complex problem, and one that concerns the present study only insofar as Davies used French intermediaries, rather than the original texts. That Davies was something of a Latin scholar we may gather from his Cambridge training, and from his translation, at the very beginning of his career, of John Hall's *Paradoxes*, and of the anonymous *Apocalypsis*, neither of which appears to have existed in any other version. With his *Life and Philosophy of Epictetus* (1670), while showing that he was aware of several earlier Latin versions of the *Enchiridium* and of at least one earlier English version, Davies chose to work from the third edition (1667) of Gilles Boileau's French translation as being "the most exact." In the only other translation out of Latin which can be proved to be Davies', his *Roman History of Lucius J. Florus*, I have found no evidence that he worked from a French copy, although this is still a possibility. Sanctorius' *Medicina Statica* and the *History of Appian of Alexandria* have both been attributed to Davies by certain bibliographers (on the unsure evidence of a "J.D." on the title pages), but I have found no further proof that they are his.

It seems appropriate here to comment that the whole problem of English dependence on French classical scholars and translators in the later seventeenth century has yet to be treated adequately. Professor Schoell has shown that for the period 1560-1620 "presque tous les instruments de travail de l'helléniste en Angleterre furent des instruments continentaux, tant grammaires que dictionnaires, tant éditions que traductions."¹³ And as for the translations themselves, "presque toutes françaises," he finds that they were widely used—"traduire du grec, et non d'une traduction continentale, c'est presque acquérir un titre à l'immortalité."¹⁴ When a similar study, broadened to include Latin authors, is made of the later seventeenth-century transla-

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 136.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 139, 137.

tions from the classics, I have no doubt that it will show that Davies and his fellow translators owe a greater debt to the French intermediaries than is apparent at present.

Davies was not alone among his contemporaries in relying on French translators for more accessible versions of Spanish, German, and Arabic, as well as of Latin works. John Nalson, Davies' contemporary, defends the practice in these words:

It is the general and known observation, that [the French] language within this fifty years hath extended it self farther than in five hundred before, so the French are most extraordinarily improved in all manner of knowledge, and learning, which may be of publick use and advantage. Nor can this be attributed to any other cause, but the industrious care and diligence of the learned and ingenious persons of that nation, who have with indefatigable application in-deavoured to bring all the learning of the world into their own country, by making all the writing of the Greeks, Latins, Italians, and several other nations, who have been famous in any sort, denizens of France. . . . (Translator's preface to Maimbourg's *History of the Crusade*, London, 1685.)

A clear understanding of this practice should sharpen our view of the importance of France as a sort of intellectual clearing-house for the English Restoration.

But who made up the reading public for translations in the years 1650-1700? The question is a difficult one to document. Social historians have laid so much stress on the "Frenchified tone" of Restoration society that many students have come to believe that the returning Court introduced into England the taste for things French, and likewise that the enlightened public of this age was almost without exception bilingual. Each of these statements calls for serious reservations, especially if we limit our consideration of them to the question of translations.

The Restoration of 1660 had no appreciable immediate effect on the number of translations published. The present writer has for several years been compiling a bibliography of English translations from the French for the period 1650-1700. The work is now far enough advanced to show that the number of translations

appearing in the 1660's remains about the same as for those which had appeared in the preceding decade. If we accept Miss Plant's figures¹⁵ that approximately one hundred new books were published annually in this period, we may make the rough estimate that for the years 1650-1670 one book in eight was a translation from the French. The really appreciable jump in published translations comes after 1670 and is attributable, I believe, to much broader reasons than simply the "vogue for things French." At this later date, the translator of Aubignac's *Whole Art of the Stage* (1684) can speak in his preface of French as "a language that has almost tyr'd our presses with continual productions."

It cannot be denied that there were at Court a number of people who had a perfect command of French. There were a considerably greater number, we know from letters and plays of the period, who had only a smattering of "society French," for use in drawing-rooms, to impress their contemporaries. The King himself appears to have had no great skill in French, in spite of his residence abroad. From December, 1661, on, he wrote to his sister, "Madame," only in English, "either" (as the recent editor of his correspondence remarks) "from sheer laziness, . . . or because he really wanted her to keep up her English."¹⁶ By 1665, Jusserand comments,¹⁷ Charles was saying that he had almost forgotten his French.

The public for translations was a diverse one, and included Charles himself. Evelyn is proud to report in his diary (under date of January 25, 1664/5) on his visit to Court, when "his Ma^{ty} came to me . . . and gave me thanks for publishing *The Myserie of Jesuitism* [a translation from the French], which he

¹⁵ Marjorie Plant, *The English Book Trade; an Economic History of the Making and Sale of Books* (New York, R. R. Bowker Co.; London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1939), p. 91.

¹⁶ C. H. Hartmann, *Charles II and Madame* (London, W. Heinemann, 1934), p. 35.

¹⁷ J. J. Jusserand, *A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles the Second . . .* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1892), p. 236.

said he had carried two days in his pocket, read it, and encourag'd me. . . ." Charles' successors likewise appear to have favored translations. John Dunton has boasted of his publication (in 1694) of a translation of Elie Benoist's *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*: "'Twas a wonderful pleasure to Queen Mary to see this History made English, and was the only book to which she ever granted her Royal License. . . .'"¹⁸

That the nobles read extensively in translations we know from the catalogues of their libraries which have survived. The Woburn library of the Fifth Earl of Bedford, for instance, contained several translations from French historical and travel literature.¹⁹ The "Gentlemen of the University of Oxford" were offered translations of French works in a catalogue of the important bookseller Richard Davis, prepared for a 1686 auction.²⁰ And among those of more modest origins, Pepys, as we have already noted, was a fond admirer of Scarron in English dress. The volume which so charmed him, the Davies translation of the *Novels* (c. 1660), had been "formerly recommended by Dr. Clerke at sea . . ." (*Diary*, Oct. 15, 1660).

The merchant class, too, was included. Mr. Louis B. Wright, in discussing Elizabethan translations, has written: "No class of literature held a greater fascination for the merchant class than travel accounts."²¹ That the taste persisted is shown in Davies' dedication of the Olearius-Mandelslo *Travels* to "the Governour and Fellowship of English merchants for the discovery of new trade in Muscovy, Russia, &c," and likewise to "the Governour, Deputy, Committies, and Fellowship of English merchants, trading into the East Indies." This dedication can only

¹⁸ J. Dunton, *The Life and Errors of John Dunton* . . . (London, Printed for S. Malthus, 1705), p. 216.

¹⁹ Cf. Gladys Scott Thomson, *Life in a Noble Household, 1641-1700* (London, J. Cape, 1937), especially Chapter XIV, "The Library."

²⁰ John Lawler, *Book Auctions in England in the Seventeenth Century* (1676-1700) (London, E. Stock, 1898), p. 35.

²¹ *Translations for the Elizabethan Middle Class*, in: *The Library*, Fourth Series, XIII: 321 (1933).

be interpreted as an appeal to the most likely audience. And Davies was evidently making a further bid for this class, with its growing *arrivisme*, when he wrote in his Epistle Dedicatory to *Voiture's Letters* (1657): "As to the advantages [which] may be made of the present . . . letters, I doubt not that they will be thought considerable by those whom conversation, generous acquaintances and affaires, have any way raised above the multitude."

It is not our aim here to claim that the English Restoration passed over its reading in the original French in favor of translations. The many cautious phrases (not all of which are idle flattery) to be found addressed to patrons in the dedications—"I do not present this to you as if you stood in need of translations," or "I humbly beg pardon for presenting a translation to you who so perfectly command the original," all bear witness at least to the existence of linguistic pretensions.

There were undoubtedly enlightened readers like Dorothy Osborne who knew sometimes French works both in the original and in translation, and who markedly preferred the originals.²² References in the *Calendar of Treasury Books* to the importation of French books, the existence in the Strand of bookshops specializing in books in French show that there were many readers fluent in the language. This side of the question is indeed well-known, and has no doubt been over-emphasized. We may hope to restore the balance somewhat by pointing out the nature and extent of the translations and their popularity with a broad public.

II

Davies' career may serve as a center about which we can shape some general estimate of the position of the Restoration translator. One does not have to look far to find the profession de-

²² Cf. G. C. Moore Smith, ed., *The Letters of Dorothy Osborne to William Temple* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1928), p. 91.

cried, and from high places. In a letter to Lord Cornbury early in 1665 Evelyn speaks of "the greatest of drudgeries, the translation of bookes."²³ Dryden professes a like opinion in his *Life of Lucian* where translators are referred to as "wretched scribblers" in the employ of booksellers. The fact remains that, for all their disparaging words, both Evelyn and Dryden chose to be very active translators themselves, and among the list of "wretched scribblers" one must include many illustrious literary names of the age. Then, too, the great amount of critical preoccupation with the problems of translation shows how present these problems were in the mind of men of letters.

Was the translator, then, merely a publisher's slave, or was he in some measure independent? Dryden is straightforward in his statement on this question. "The booksellers," he reports, "are the undertakers of works of this nature and they are persons more devoted to their own gain than the public honour. They are very parsimonious in rewarding the wretched scribblers they employ, and care not how the business is done, so that it be but done."²⁴ His statement is supported in part by the report that it was the publisher Tonson, himself, who suggested to Dryden the translation of a Virgil.²⁵ Translations which are entered by publishers on the *Stationers' Register* as assigned to a specifically named translator, but which turn up in print under a different translator's name can be explained most logically as evidence of a change in heart on the part of the publisher who let the contract.²⁶

²³ Cited by Geoffrey Keynes, *John Evelyn* (N. Y., The Grolier Club, 1937), p. 172. It should be noted that Evelyn continues: "But why call I this a drudgery? Who would not be proud of the service? By the slight tast of it, I find God & the King concerned . . ." (Evelyn's translation of *The Mystery of Jesuitism* had been favorably commented on by the King).

²⁴ *Life of Lucian*, in *Works* (Scott-Saintsbury), XVIII: 82.

²⁵ Alexandre Beljame, *Men of Letters and the English Public in the Eighteenth Century, 1660-1744* (London, K. Paul, Trench, Trubner [1948]), p. 357.

²⁶ Such is the case with the *Mémoires of the Dutchess Mazarine*, entered on the S.R. Feb. 13, 1676, as translated "by T.R. Esq.," but published with "by P. Porter" on the title page.

There were certainly occasional restrictions imposed on translators. Commenting on the English rendering of an historical work, James Howell writes: "I must tell you by-the-bye, that some passages were commanded to be omitted, because they had too near an analogy with our times."²⁷ Censorship, however, does not appear to have been one of the worries of Davies. He appears likewise to have had better luck with his printers than did, for instance, a translator of the prestige of Evelyn who complained to Pepys *à propos* of his translation of Naudé's *Instructions concerning Erecting a Library* (1661) "... the translation ... has ben so insufferably abus'd at the presse, that the shame any uncorrected copy should come abroad has made me suppresse as many as I could light on, not without purpose of publishing a new edition. ..."²⁸

Ample evidence can be advanced, however, to show that Davies quite definitely considered himself an independent man of letters—free to choose those titles which he thought significant, and of possible appeal to English readers. In the preface which Howell contributed to Davies' rendition of Cureau de la Chambre's *Art how to know Men* (1665), the former comments: "You discover also much judgment in the election of your authors"—certainly implying that the choice was Davies' to make. And in telling of his early preoccupation with his favorite, Scarron, Davies himself reports that the first three stories "were communicated to me by a lady, who dy'd young, the lustre of her age and sex, Mrs. Catharine Philips."²⁹ Dedicating the last of the stories to Thomas Stanley, the translator writes: "What pieces of the most comical and most burlesque Monsieur Scarron have come forth in my dress, I fell upon under your roof, and they had their birth, in English, under your patronage. ..."³⁰ (There is

²⁷ *Familiar Letters* . . . (London, J. M. Dent and Co., 1903), III: 81.

²⁸ Cited by G. Keynes, *John Evelyn*, p. 101.

²⁹ Preface to Scarron's *Unexpected Choice* (1670).

³⁰ Ep. Ded. to *Unexpected Choice*.

no contradiction here, of course, since the Matchless Orinda was a member of the Stanley circle.) As a final case in point we may note that in his dedication to the translation of de Aranda's *History of Algiers* (1666), addressed to Sir Philip Howard, Davies explained that his choice of this particular work had been determined by a previous conversation with Howard.

There is still to be answered the question: how precisely did a translator like Davies earn his living? The problem is obviously intimately tied in with the whole question of literary patronage in this age, and for which we already have the admirable, if somewhat dated book of Beljame. The French scholar, unfortunately, has given no special attention to translators. Our study of Davies and his fellow workers, however, allows us to cast grave doubts on the statement of Miss Plant, who has claimed in a recent book: "The worst-paid work of all was translation, for which the recompense was commonly a few copies of the work."³¹ To refute this statement we can turn once again to James Howell, who reported himself "a cadet," with "no other patrimony or support but my breeding."³² Nevertheless, if we may accept the testimony of Anthony à Wood, in the 1640's "he solely dedicated himself to write and translate books; which, tho' several of them are meer scribbles, yet they brought him in a comfortable subsistence. . . ."³³ The case of Dryden is too well-known to call for extended comment. Miss Plant, herself, points out that Tonnson paid well for Dryden's English Ovid,³⁴ and this work apparently was no outstanding exception to the rates he generally received in the latter part of his career.

Translation did not, indeed, always fully support its devotees. Edmund Wolley, the translator of Georges de Scudéry, was one of the several translators engaged in the "painful employment

³¹ *The English Book Trade*, p. 75.

³² *Familiar Letters* . . . , I: 275.

³³ *Athenae oxon.* (Bliss ed.), III: 745.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

of tutoring the young." A fair-sized group which included Robert Loveday and P. Porter held posts as secretaries in noble households and used their leisure for translating. In some instances (as with Godfrey Richards and Robert Pricke) the translators had to undertake the publication and sale of their own works. In the case of Henry Carey, we have the testimony of Dorothy Osborne that "many people wonder how hee spends his estate, I beleieve hee undo's himself with printing his translations, nobody else will undergoe the charge because they never hope to sell enough of them to pay themself's withall. . . ." ³⁵ Her comments show distinctly, however, that she thought he was losing money because of his lack of skill, and not because he was devoting himself to translating.

Davies, the son of a yeoman, and himself certainly a man of no great means, seems to have devoted himself almost exclusively to translation and to have been rewarded with a comfortable existence. I find no sure reference in any of his works to any employment beyond his literary occupations. Some part of his income must have been in the form of grants from his patrons whom he honored in his epistles dedicatory. The warm and personal tone of many of these shows that they were sometimes more than the usual unsolicited dedications of the age, offered in the hope of receiving some tangible reward. Certain of his kinsmen, as well as Thomas Stanley, Sir Philip Howard, Sir John Berkenhead, and sundry more casual acquaintances were so addressed. Beljame has called our attention to the custom, already existing in Shakespeare's day, requiring the object of a dedication to send a purse to the author or translator concerned. But these were generally lean sums—even the great Dryden is estimated to have received only five or ten pounds on such occasions. It is hence unlikely that Davies received any considerable grant in this fashion.

The exact proportion of income derived from the various

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 91.

sources—publishers, and the different classes of patrons—is then problematical. After reviewing Davies' career as a whole, I would hazard the guess that the income he received directly from the publishers was greater than what we have heretofore supposed a translator received. A certain "rehabilitation" of the translator's trade may be in order. For, in spite of all the evil said of it, even by some of its most illustrious practitioners, it continued to attract an increasing number of names, sometimes great names. And after considering Davies the *typical* craftsman he undoubtedly was, we can infer that the rewards of translation could be a respectable, even perhaps a comfortable life.

III

Since Davies was the most active translator from the French in his day, it is important that we catch a glimpse of him at work, so that we may make some estimate of his technical skill. This estimate should not stop at theory, but should attempt a close look at practice. In truth, it would be difficult to give an extended discussion of Davies' theory of translation, for he has left us only random observations on this question.

If we try to set Davies' renderings up against contemporary theories of translation, once again we meet with difficulty. There is indeed in this age a considerable literature on the theory of translation, but on close examination almost all of the significant essays are found to concern themselves either with translation from verse, or with translation from the classical languages. Recent scholars³⁶ have already provided useful summaries of this criticism which contains many remarks pertinent to the problem of translating from contemporary French prose. The really definitive study, however, has still to be written, but cannot be undertaken until we have more detailed investigations of the prac-

³⁶ Cf. notably J. E. Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908-1909), I: xlviii-lviii, and Edward N. Hooker, *Critical Works of John Dennis* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1939-1943), I: 425-428.

tice in translating from the French, of Evelyn, Dryden, Mrs. Behn, Tom Brown, and their co-workers.

Restoration translations show a wide divergence among themselves on the question of how far the English version may depart from the original—not only in details of language, but even in the addition and subtraction of whole episodes. There are those translators who have such an over-zealous respect for their original (no doubt in many cases it is rather a lack of knowledge and imagination) that they fall rather into transliteration, hence far short of their goal. But a larger number set out boldly to “improve” whatever they set their pen to—especially plays and novels—and their boast is always that they have “adapted them to the English taste,” a process which has frequently left a result neither French nor English, but only a sort of mid-Channel version.

The defence of this freer manner is sometimes impertinent in its boldness. Ferrand Spence, for instance, finding Pierre Du Val’s description³⁷ of the English colonies too stingy, adds a section of his own fabrication, and in the translator’s preface comments:

For, though no one, in strict justice, has such a right over another man’s work, as may authorize and priviledg him to change and alter what he please, yet having so much good company, I must confess, in the additional way among my brother-translators . . . I hope I may have the English reader’s pardon, especially since ’tis for the glory of our Common Mother, whose reputation and honour we ought not only to defend with our swords and pens, but to propagate to the utmost borders of the universe. And the author, I suppose will think no injury done him; for if he had been an Englishman, he wou’d have writ so: but if he thinks himself concern’d, I must give him satisfaction from his own countrymen, who when they translate our books, are notoriously known to corrupt them in much more material points. . . .

Davies falls somewhere between these extremes, nearer though to the “close” manner. In his work are found almost no

³⁷ In *Geographia Universalis* (London, Printed by H. Clark, for F. Pearse, 1685), a translation of *La Géographie du temps*.

examples of free adaptation, or unacknowledged spinning-out of the original. His "additional" are few, and always pointed out on the title page or in a preface. The Scarron *Novels* of 1665 include three tales added out of the same author's *Roman comique*; the *Epictetus Junior* has a few maxims not directly out of La Rochefoucauld, but rather suggested by his originals. Compared with the practice of certain of the contemporaries, this is a lean list.

If we turn to matters of detail, it is of course the extravagant use of Gallicisms which raises the loudest hue and cry. Dorothy Osborne had no patience with the whole race of translators of romances, having found her English Gomberville and de Scudéry "still soe much French in words and phrases that 'twas impossible for one that understood not French to make anything of them."³⁸ (Ironically enough, the recipient of these remarks, Sir William Temple, was himself one of the greatest offenders.³⁹) Davies has a remarkably clean record on this charge. Even though the great Dryden had on occasion defended the cautious creation of new words, saying: "I trade both with the living and the dead for the enrichment of our native language,"⁴⁰ and the practice had been approved by several of the most successful translators, notably by James Howell who had claimed: "by such means our language hath grown from time to time to be so copious, and still grows more rich by adopting or naturalising rather the choicest foreign words of other nations,"⁴¹ Davies remained conservative, agreeing perhaps with Dryden that "everyman is not fit to innovate."

The greatest difficulties here arose in works of exotic backgrounds such as Olearius' *Voyages* (1662), or the *History of the Caribby-Islands* (1666), where it was a question of retaining the

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 91.

³⁹ See *The Early Essays and Romances of Sir William Temple Bt.*, edited by G. C. Moore Smith (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1930), pp. 214-215.

⁴⁰ "Discourse on Epic Poetry," Malone ed. of Dryden's *Works*, III: 545.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, III: 42.

flavor of strangeness and yet remaining comprehensible to the English reader. Davies rarely uses an obscure archaism. In their preface to the volume on the Caribby Islands his publishers show to what lengths Davies' conscience went. They explain that the English inhabitants of the Caribbies may have different names than those given in the *History* for various plants, beasts, birds, fishes, etc. "Some of them," the publishers report, "upon consultation with such as had lived in those parts he made a shift to get, and in all likelihood might have gotten most of the rest, had not the breaking forth of the last years contagion caus'd most of the inhabitants of London, to retire to their country habitations and friends."

In at least two respects Davies falls in, to a limited extent, with the practice of the great Elizabethan translators. In writing of Philemon Holland, the late F. O. Matthiessen⁴² commented on his strong affection for doublets, and the love of the specific which makes Holland's style strongly figurative. While considerably chastened, Davies' prose occasionally retains these characteristics. Hence "l'artifice" becomes "artifice and craft" (La-Chambre, *Art How* . . . , p. 27); "la partie courtoise de l'âme" is rendered as "the softer, I mean the kinder, part of the . . . soul" (Scarron, *Novels*, 1665, p. 73); "exposée au premier chien" appears in English as "expos'd to the mercy of the first dog or swine." (Scarron, *Novels*, 1665, p. 7). Not infrequently it is the love of the specific and figurative which has dictated the doublet. "J'ai vécu de régime le mieux que j'ai pu . . ." becomes with Davies "... what recipes and diet-drink, and physical directions have I been the butt of . . ." (*Scarron's Letters*, p. 25); and in Olearius' *Voyages* the comment "Le chancelier, voyant qu'il n'y avait pas moyen de s'en dédire, prend le vase . . ." is translated: "The chancellor finding he had the woof by the ears, and not knowing how to avoid drinking, takes the cup . . ." (1669 ed.,

⁴² F. O. Matthiessen, *Translation: An Elizabethan Art* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1931), p. 190 ff.

I: 219). We must emphasize that Davies never allows himself the freedom of Holland and his contemporaries. The examples cited above are evidence of a limited survival of technique. They are found scattered through Davies' work, but are not his general practice.

One of the most interesting sides of Davies' work is his re-examination of the balance of the elements within the sentence to be translated. Here his method depends upon his estimate of the original. If the style is clear, the sentences well-cast, as in *Cureau de la Chambre*, the sentence structure comes over almost unchanged. If the style is more involved, as in *Voiture's Letters*, but in a *précieux* fashion which seems to be a part of its *raison d'être*, Davies' good judgement likewise tells him to leave it unaltered. If, however, as in *Olearius* and particularly in *Gabriel Naudé*, the style of the original gives evidence of improper balance, the translator not infrequently departs from his original so that the English version may be more comprehensible. Sometimes this involves only the changing or addition of a connective: "Son terroir est fort bon, & ses rochers mesmes donnent du vin . . ." (*Olearius, Voyages*, II: 577) becomes: "The soil of it is so very good, nay the very rocks yield wine . . ." (1669 ed., II: 221). But on other occasions it has been thought wisest to recast the whole passage to simplify it, and as in the following example, to bring *le petit fait alléchant* to the foreground:

S'il est permis de donner quelque sens autre que le litteral à ce que l'interprete de Lycophron recite, qu'entre beaucoup d'oyseaux qui n'approchoient point le Temple de Minerve Deesse des Sciences & de la raison, les corneilles n'osoient aussi prendre vol à l'entour d'icelui, ou se poser jamais sur sa couverture, je croy que l'on peut trouver un plus vray-semblable sinon que. . . .

There is a story, that among many birds that came not neer the Temple of Minerva, the Goddess of Sciences and Reason, the crows durst not take their flight about it, much lesse light upon it. If it be lawfull to give it any other sense than the literall, I think the most probable were this. . . .

(Davies translation, p. 202)

(Naudé, *Apologie* . . . , p. 311)

The translation may err in not being complete, but it has the virtue of having better balance and of being more simple and direct than its original. In this trend it reflects the salutary evolution of seventeenth-century English prose in general.

Davies was not perhaps a really distinguished translator, but his knowledge of French was thorough, and his renditions may be characterized as correct, and generally close. Indeed, among the English translations from the French appearing between 1650 and 1700 there are almost none which can be called really distinguished and which have survived. The Urquhart-Motteux Rabelais is a notable exception, and it is so chiefly because it continues the earlier, freer tradition of the Elizabethans. Professor Matthiessen has well said:

The average translation does not last long. . . . The translator must either suppress his personality and produce a scholarly work, faultless, but without life; or, if he enters creatively into his work, he runs the almost certain risk of adding elements which the next generation will consider a clouding of the spirit of the original. (*Op. cit.*, p. 231.)

Serious students will nevertheless want to keep in mind the important rôle played by these works in shaping the later seventeenth-century climate of opinion.

Davies' position remains one of historical significance in Anglo-French literary relations. He is an outstanding and unduly neglected representative of that group of hard-working men who contributed a large and ever-increasing proportion of books to the Restoration publishers' lists. Davies' own contributions were almost all significant *per se* and brought to the English public a considerable number not only of France's most distinguished writers but also, through his use of French intermediaries, of outstanding figures from several other lands.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF DAVIES' TRANSLATIONS
FROM THE FRENCH

(Unless otherwise noted, the place of publication in all cases is London. The translations are listed chronologically. For the original works, the date of the first edition is given, unless it is specifically noted that Davies worked from a later edition. An index of authors and translators will be found at the end of the bibliography.)

1653

SOREL, CHARLES, sieur de Souvigny. *Le Berger extravagant*. Paris, T. Du Bray, 1627. *The extravagant shepherd. The anti-romance: or, the history of the shepherd Lysis. Translated out of French.* [1]

For Thomas Heath. 4°. [xxxi] + 264 + 96 p.

Ep. Ded. is signed: "John Davies."

There were re-issues of the above (with new title pages) in 1654 (T. Newcomb for Thomas Heath), and 1660 (T. Basset).

1654 (See no. 1)

1655

ANONYMOUS. Original unidentified. *Reflections upon Monsieur Des Cartes's discourse of a method for the well-guiding of reason, and discovery of truth in the sciences. Written by a private pen in French, and translated out of the original manuscript by J. D.* [2]

Printed for Tho. Newcomb. 8°. [xii] + 93 p.

Ep. Ded. is signed: "Jo. Davies."

SCUDÉRY, MADELEINE DE. *Clélie, histoire romaine*. Paris, A. Courbé, 1654-1660. *Clelia. An excellent new romance, dedicated to Mademoiselle de Longueville. . . . Written in French by the exquisite pen of Monsieur de Scudéry, Gouverneur of Nostre-Dame de la Garde. . . . Davies translated Vols. I-III (Vols. II and III with anonymous collaborators). George Havers translated Vols. IV and V.* [3]

Vol. I. 1655. Printed for Humphrey Moseley and Tho. Dring. Fol. [v] + 104 + 127 p.

Ep. Ded. of translator is unsigned. The catalogue of Dring the publisher,

prefixed to Voiture's *Letters* . . . (1657), advertises: *Clelia, the first two volumes. Englished by J. D.*

Later volumes:

Vol. II. 1656. Printed for Humphrey Moseley and Thomas Dring. 4°. [ii] + 107 + 157 p.

The translator's Ep. Ded. is signed "J. Davies" who in the next volume reports that Volumes II and III have "gone through more hands than one."

Vol. III. 1658. Printed for H. Moseley and Tho. Dring. 4°. [ii] + 284 p. The translator's Ep. Ded. is signed: "J. Davies."

Vol. IV (original edition, 1660) and *Vol. V* (1661) were translated by George Havers.

Later edition:

1678. *Parts* [i.e. volumes] I-V. Printed and are sold by H. Herringman, D. Newman, T. Cockerel, S. Heyrick, W. Cadman, S. Loundes, G. Marriot, W. Crook, and C. Smith. 4° (double column). 736 p.

Separate title pages for Parts I-III are dated 1678; for Parts IV-V are dated 1677.

1656 (See no. 3)

1657

NAUDÉ, GABRIEL. *Apologie pour les grands hommes soupçonnés de magie.* Paris, F. Targa, 1625. *The history of magick by way of apology, for all the wise men who have unjustly been reputed magicians, from the creation, to the present age. Written in French, by G. Naudæus, late Library-Keeper to Cardinal Mazarin. . . . Englished by J. Davies.* [4]

Printed for John Streater. 8°. [xiv] + 306 p.

VOITURE, VINCENT. Certain letters from: *Oeuvres.* Paris, A. Courbé, 1650. *Letters of affaires, love and courtship: written to several persons of honour and quality; by the exquisite pen of Monsieur de Voiture, a member of the famous French Academy established at Paris by Cardinall de Richelieu. English'd by J. D.* [5]

Printed for T. Dring and J. Starkey. 8°. [xxx] + 236 + 134 p.

Ep. Ded. is signed: "J. Davies."

1658 (See no. 3)

1659

LA CALPRENÈDE, GAUTHIER COSTES DE. *Cléopâtre*. Paris, 1647-1658. *Hymen's præludia: or, love's master-piece*. . . . Davies translated Parts IX-XII which appeared for the first time in 1659. [6]

Parts I (original edition: 1652), II (1654), III (1655), had been translated by R. Loveday.

Parts IV (1656), V (1656), VI (1658), VII (1658), were translated by John Coles.

Part VIII (1658) was translated by James Webb.

Parts IX-X. Rendred into English by J. D.

Printed for H. Moseley and John Crook. Large 4°. [ii] + 358 p. (paged continuously).

Ep. Ded. signed: "John Davies."

Part X has a separate title page giving publishers as: E. Tyler for J. Crook.

Parts XI-XII. Rendred into English by J. D.

Printed for Humphrey Moseley. Large 4°. [ii] + 254 p. (paged continuously).

The above editions of Parts IX-XII were re-issued (with new title pages) in 1663 (By E.M. for A. Moseley), and 1668 (By R.D. for A. Mosely and John Crooke).

Later editions which include Parts IX-XII:

1674. Printed by W.R. and J.R. and . . . sold by P. Parker and T. Guy. Large 4°. [vi] + 540 p. (Parts I-VI), + 572 p. (Parts VII-XII). A new edition. Davies' name appears nowhere in this (and subsequent) editions.

1687. Printed by F. Collins for T. Fabian. 4° (double column). [vi] + 958 p.

The above edition was re-issued (with a new title page) in 1698 (For Ralph Smith).

1736. Printed and sold by J. Watson. 8 vols., 12°. Parts IX-XII are found in Vols. VI (pp. 112-432), VII (pp. 3-431), VIII (pp. 3-468).

1660 (See no. 1)

SCARRON, PAUL. Tales from the *Nouvelles tragi-comiques* (Paris, A. de Som-maville, 1655-1657), Parts I and II of the *Roman comique* (Paris, T. Quinet, 1651; G. de Luyne, 1657) and *Dernières œuvres* (Paris, G. de Luyne, 1663). The special bibliographical problems in connection with the translations listed below are discussed by the present writer in an article to appear shortly in the *Revue de litt. comparée*. [*Scarron's novels. Viz.: The fruitless precaution, The hypocrites, The innocent adultery.*] [Circa 1660] No copy extant. [7]

Later editions of various tales:

[1665] [*Scarron's novels. Viz.: The judge in his own cause, The rival brothers, The invisible mistress, The chastisement of avarice.*] No copy extant.

1665. *Scarron's novels* . . . [all seven novels listed above]. *Rendred into English* . . . by John Davies of Kidwelly. . . . For Thomas Dring. 8°. [xviii] + 183 + [xviii] + 152 p.

1665. *Idem.* For Thomas Dring. 8°. [xviii] + 336 p.

1667. *Idem.* For Thomas Dring. 8°. [xviii] + 330 p.

1683. *Idem.* [Including *The unexpected choice* (see under 1670); eight novels in all.] For T. Basset and are to be sold by Will Freeman. 8°.

1694. *Idem.* By Ric. Everingham, for R. Bentley, W. Henchman, F. Saunders, D. Browne, and J. Knapton. 8°. [xiv] + 404 p.

1700. *Idem.* For R.B. and R.W. and sold by Joseph Wild. 8°. [xii] + 504 p.

1661

BLONDEL, DAVID. *Des sibylles célébrées tant par l'antiquité payenne que par les saints pères*. Charenton, Vve. L. Perier et N. Perier, 1649. *A treatise of the sibyls, so highly celebrated, as well by the antient heathens, as the holy fathers of the church; giving an accompt of the name, and number of the sibyls, of their qualities, the form and matter of their verses; as also of the books now extant under their names, and the errors crept into Christian religion, from the impostures contained therein, particularly concerning the state of the just, and unjust after death. Written originally by David Blondel; Englished by J. D.* [8]

Printed by T.R. for the authour and to be sold by Thom. Dring. 4°. [ii] + 293 + [vi] p.

The Ep. Ded. is signed: "J. Davies."

1662

OLEARIUS, ADAM. [Part I:] *Muskowitische oft beehrte Beschreibung der neuen orientalischen Reise an den König von Persien*. Schleszwig, J. Zur Glocken, 1647. [Part II:] *Des Johan Albrechts von Mandelslo Morgenländische Reyse-Beschreibung*. Herausgegeben durch Adam Olearium. Schleszwig, 1658. *The voyages & travels of the ambassadors sent by Frederick, Duke of Holstein, to the Great Duke of Muscovy, and the King of Persia. Begun in the year M.DC.XXXIII. and finish'd in M.DC.XXXIX. Containing a compleat history of Muscovy, Tartary, Persia, and other adjacent countries . . . In VII. books. Whereto are added the travels of John Albert de Mandelslo . . . from Persia, into the East-Indies . . . In III books . . . Written originally by Adam Olearius, secretary to the embassy. Faithfully rendred into English, by John Davies of Kidwelly.* [9]

Printed for Thomas Dring and John Starkey. 4°. [xxii] + 424 + [ii] + 287 + [x] p. Second part has separate title page.

1669. *The second edition corrected.*

Printed for John Starkey and Thomas Basset. 4°. [xviii] + 316 + [iv] + 232 + [ix] p. Second part has separate title page.

Davies expressly says (in his preface to part II) that he translated from the French version of A. de Wicquefort, *Relation du voyage de Moscovie, Tartarie et de Perse* (Paris, G. Clouzier, 1656. Mandelslo's section first added in the Paris, J. Du Puis, 1659, edition).

1663 (See no. 6)

1665 (See no. 7)

CASTILLO SOLORZANO, ALONSO DE. *La Garduña de Sevilla*. Madrid, Impr. del Reyno, 1642. *La Picara, or the triumphs of female subtilty, display'd in the artifices and impostures of a beautiful woman, who trepann'd the most experienc'd rogues, and made all those unhappy who thought her handsome: originally, a Spanish relation, enriched with three pleasant novels. Rendr'd into English, with some alterations and additions, by John Davies of Kidwelly.* [10]

Printed by W. W. for John Starkey. 8°. [vi] + 304 p.

Davies expressly says in his Ep. Ded. that he translated from a French version (presumably *La Fouyne de Séville*, Paris, L. Bilaine, 1661, attributed to the Abbé de Boisrobert or his brother).

The "three pleasant novels" are interspersed throughout the text, and have as titles: "All covet, all loose" (pp. 68-115), "The knight of the noble order of the marigold" (pp. 161-213), "The trapanner trapann'd" (pp. 245-282). They were extracted and reprinted without the rest of the text in 1712 as: *Three ingenious Spanish novels . . . The second edition*. (For E. Tracy.) The translator's preface is signed: "J. D."

There were two eighteenth-century editions of *La Picara*, neither of which acknowledges Davies as the translator. These are:

The life of Donna Rosina . . . originally a Spanish relation. In three parts. Done into English, by the ingenious Mr. E. W. a known celebrated author.

[Circa 1703. No date on title page. Information given in Plomer furnishes approximate date.] Printed by B. Harris. [ii] + 157 p.

Omits the "three pleasant novels," otherwise changes Davies' text only in slight details. I have been unable to identify the "celebrated" Mr. E. W.

The Spanish pole-cat: or, the adventures of Seniors Rufina . . . written originally in Spanish by Don Alonso de Castillo Savorcano. Begun to be translated by Sir Roger L'Estrange; and finish'd by Mr. Ozell.

1717. Printed by E. Curll and W. Taylor. 394 p.

Pp. 1-22 (evidently L'Estrange's work) differ considerably from Davies' version. Pp. 22-394 are but a bold theft from Davies, with only minor changes in phraseology. All the text, including the "three pleasant novels" added by Davies, is given here. There was a second edition in 1727 (for H. Curll).

RENAUDOT, EUSÈBE. *Recueil général des questions traitées ès conférences du Bureau d'adresse*. Paris, L. Chamoudry, 1655-1656. *Another collection of philosophical conferences of the French virtuosi, upon questions of all sorts; for the improving of natural knowledg. Made in the assembly of the beaux esprits at Paris, by the most ingenious persons of that nation. Render'd into English, by G. Havers, Gent. & J. Davies of Kidwelly, Gent.* [11]

Printed for Thomas Dring and John Starkey. 4°. [xiii] + 496 p.

The previous volume, *A General Collection . . .*, published in 1664, had

been translated by Havers alone. There is no indication of the share each translator had in the 1665 collection.

CUREAU DE LA CHAMBRE, MARIN. *L'Art de connoistre les hommes*. Paris, P. Rocolet, 1659. *The art how to know men. Originally written, by the sieur de la Chambre, counsellour to his majesty of France, and physician in ordinary. Rendred into English by John Davies of Kidwelly.* . . . [12]

Printed by T.R. for Thomas Dring. 8°. [xxviii] + 330 + [xiv] p.

Re-issued with new title page in 1670 (For Thomas Basset).

1666

ROCHEFORT, CHARLES DE. *Histoire naturelle et morale des iles Antilles de l'Amérique . . . avec un vocabulaire caraïbe*. Rotterdam, A. Leers, 1658. *The history of the Caribby-Islands, viz. Barbados, St. Christophers, St. Vincents, Martinico, Dominico, Barbouthos, Monserrat, Mevis, Antago, &c. in all XXVIII. In two books. The first containing the natural; the second the moral history of those islands. Illustrated with several pieces of sculpture, representing the most considerable rarities therein described. With a Caribbian vocabulary. Rendred into English by John Davies of Kidwelly.* . . . [13]

Printed by J.M. for Thomas Dring and John Starkey. 4°. [vi] + 351 + [xv] p.

Re-issued in 1666 (For John Starkey and Thomas Dring, Junr.) with a new title page reading: *The History of Barbados, St. Christophers, Mevis, St. Vincents, Antego, Martinico, Monserrat, and the rest of the Caribby-Islands, in all XXVIII.* . . .

[See Sabin's *Biblioteca Americana*, XVII: 426-430, re disputed authorship of this book.]

ARANDA, EMANUEL D'. *Relation de la captivité et liberté du sieur Emanuel d'Aranda où sont descriptes les misères, les ruses & les finesses des esclaves & des corsaires d'Alger*. Brussels, Mommart, 1656. *The history of Algiers and its slavery. With many remarkable particularities of Africk. Written by the sieur Emanuel d'Aranda, sometime a slave there. English'd by John Davies of Kidwelly.* . . . [14]

Printed by John Starkey. 8°. [xiv] + 270 p.

1667 (See no. 7)

1668 (See no. 6)

1669 (See no. 9)

1670 (See no. 12)

LA ROCHEFOUCAULD, FRANÇOIS, DUC DE. *Sentences et maximes de morale*. The Hague, Jean et Daniel Steucker, 1664 (the *édition préoriginale*, probably pirated). [On the special problem of this translation see the present writer's article in *MLN*, LXIV: 413-415 (1949).] *Epictetus junior, or maximes of modern morality*. In two centuries. Collected by J. D. of Kidwelly. [15]

Printed for T. Basset. 12°. [viii] + 137 p.

The Ep. Ded. is signed: "J. Davies."

BOILEAU, GILLES. *La Vie d'Epictète et sa philosophie*, 3^e édition. Paris, G. de Luyne, 1667. *The life and philosophy of Epictetus. With the embleme of humane life, by Cebes. Rendred into English by John Davies of Kidwelly*. [16]

Printed by T. R. for John Martyn. 8°. [xii] + 170 + [vi] p.

Boileau's work was first published in 1655. In his preface, Davies says he worked from the third edition of 1667.

SCARRON, PAUL. *Plus d'effets que de paroles*. Paris, A. de Sommaville, 1657. *The unexpected choice, a novel. By Monsieur Scarron. Rendred into English, with addition and advantage. By John Davies of Kidwelly*. [17]

Printed for John Martyn. 8°. [xx] + 183 p.

Reprinted in the 1683 and subsequent editions of *Scarron's Novels* (see under no. 7).

1671

ANONYMOUS. Original unidentified. *The ceremonies of the vacant See. Or a true relation of what passes at Rome upon the Pope's death. With the proceedings in the conclave, for the election of a new Pope, according to the constitutions and ceremonials. As also the coronation and cavalcade. Out of the French by J. Davies of Kidwelly*. [18]

Printed by H.L. and R.B. for Tho. Basset. 8°. [iv] + 102 p.

There may have been another 1671 issue by Tho. Basset, with the title: *An historical account of the ceremonies of the vacant See . . .* (see *Term Catalogues*, I, 66).

There were two later re-issues (with new title pages):

1677. *The new Pope: or, a true account of the ceremonies and proceedings in the conclave at Rome, upon the Pope's death, according . . . [etc.] Translated out of French by J. D.*

No publisher is listed on the title page. The Ep. Ded. of the 1671 edition has been omitted.

1689 *The new Pope: or, the ceremonies and proceedings . . . [etc.].*

Printed for Tho. Basset. Davies' name or initials not found in this issue. There is no Ep. Ded. in this issue.

1672

VATTIER, PIERRE. *L'Egypte de Murtadi de Gaphiphie . . . traduite de l'arabique par Pierre Vattier sur un manuscrit arabe tiré de la bibliothèque de feu Monseigneur le Cardinal Mazarin.* Paris, T. Joly, 1666. *The Egyptian history, treating of the Pyramids, the inundation of the Nile, and other prodigies of Egypt, according to the opinions and traditions of the Arabians. Written originally in the Arabian tongue by Murtadi, the son of Gaphiphus. Rendered into French by Monsieur Vattier, Arabic professor to the King of France, and thence faithfully done into English by J. Davies of Kidwelly.* [19]

Printed by R.B. for Thomas Basset. 8°. [vi] + [liii] + 266 p.

RAPIN, RENÉ. *Observations sur les poèmes d'Homère et de Virgile.* Paris, T. Joly, 1669 (earlier editions—dated 1668—have as title: *Comparaison des poèmes d'Homère et de Virgile*). *Observations on the poems of Homer and Virgil . . . Out of French, by John Davies of Kidwelly.* [20]

Printed by S.G. and B.G. and are to be sold by Dorman Newman . . . and Jonathan Edwin. 8°. [iv] + 128 p.

There was another issue of the above, with a new title page which bears no date and lists the publisher as: Printed by S.G. and B.G. for Jonathan Edwin.

1674 (See no. 6)

NIEREMBERG, PADRE JUAN EUSEBIO. The first three "centuries" of: *Dictamenes . . . Madrid, Julian de Paredes, 1647. Prudential reflections, moral considerations, and stoical maxims. In three centuries. Written originally in the Spanish tongue; and thence put into French by a R.F. of the Society. English'd by J.D. of Kidwelly.* [21]

Printed by Ja. Cotterel for R. Robinson. 12°. 191 p.

Englished from the French translation of le Père d'Obeilh: *Reflexions prudentes. Pensées morales. Maximes stoïciennes. Traduites de l'espagnol par le R. Père D'Obeilh . . .*, Amsterdam, Daniel Elsevier, 1671.

1677 (See no. 18)

SCARRON, PAUL. Letters from the *Dernières oeuvres*, Paris, G. de Luyne, 1663. *Monsieur Scarron's letters to persons of the greatest eminency and quality. Rendred into English by John Davies, of Kidwelly.* [22]

Printed for George Dawes. 8°. [xii] + 140 p.

Pp. 1-7 give a letter from Balzac to Costar concerning Scarron's works.

1678 (See no. 3)

1679

ANONYMOUS. Original unidentified. *Political and military observations. By J. D. of Kidwelly.* [23]

Printed for H. Cox . . . and H. Bonwick. 12°. 158 p.

There was another issue of the above in the same year. The title page is slightly different: *Political and military observations. A new collection. . .* In this issue pp. 1-2 were reset.

I can offer no sure proof that the above is from the French. A study of Davies' methods of work indicates a strong possibility that it is a translation.

1680

RAPIN, RENÉ. *Instructions pour l'histoire*. Paris, S. Mabre-Cramoisy, 1677. *Instructions for history: with a character of the most considerable historians, ancient and modern. Out of French, by J. Davies of Kidwelly.* [24]

Printed by A. G. and J. P. 8°. [xii] + 134 p.

STOUBE, JEAN BAPTISTE. *La Religion des Hollandais, représentée en plusieurs lettres écrites par un officier de l'armée du roi*. Paris, F. Clousier, 1673. *The religion of the Dutch. Represented in several letters from a Protestant officer in the French army, to a pastor, and a professor of divinity, at Berne in Switzerland. Out of the French.* [25]

Printed for Samuel Heyrick. Small 4°. [ii] + 66 p.

Re-issued by the same publisher in 1681. On the new title page called:
The second edition . . . Out of the French by J. D. of Kidwelly.

1681 (See no. 25)

1683 (See nos. 7, 17)

1687 (See no. 6)

1689 (See no. 18)

1694 (See nos. 7, 17)

1698 (See no. 6)

1700 (See no. 7)

1703 [*circa*] (See no. 10)

1712 (See no. 10)

1717 (See no. 10)

1727 (See no. 10)

1736 (See no. 6)

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Edmund Burke's Library

By CARL B. CONE

I

ON Thursday, November 7, 1833, the library of Edmund Burke was placed at auction by Mr. R. H. Evans at his house, No. 93, Pall-Mall.¹ The sale catalogue announces that "Gentlemen who cannot attend the Sale, may have their Commissions faithfully executed, by their humble Servant, R. H. EVANS." The first twenty-nine pages of the catalogue list the titles in Burke's library and that of a "near relative." The items are arranged roughly alphabetically by authors' names for each day of the three days' sale. Within each day the books are classified under the headings octavo, quarto, and folio, in proportions of 3-2-2. The number of items, 664, is no indication of the size of the library, for many items include two or more titles, and some of these are multi-volumed. The sale realized £383/19/4.

II

Edmund Burke, like Swift, Goldsmith, and Sheridan, was one of those Irishmen who migrated to England and attained fame. After graduating from Trinity College, Dublin, where he held a scholarship in the classics, he came to London in 1750, at the age of twenty-one, to study law at the Middle Temple. Though England was his home henceforth, Burke kept the interests of

¹ The sale catalogue (London, W. Nichol, 1833), was used by Thomas W. Copeland in writing his dissertation entitled *Edmund Burke's Authorship of the Book Reviews in the Annual Register for the years 1758-1770* (Yale University unpublished dissertation, 1933). The following article is the first study to be made of Burke's library, so far as I know. The sale catalogue is in the New York Public Library.

the Irish people close to his heart. To the disappointment of his father, the young Burke never completed his legal studies. Yet he learned much about law and the English constitution; at one time he contemplated writing a history of the English law, there being no adequate history, he said.

The decade of the 1750's was a busy and fruitful one for Burke. He traveled in England and France, spending numerous vacations at different places in England. When in London he took an interest in parliamentary proceedings, conversed in the coffee houses, and made the acquaintance of young men who, like himself, would one day be famous. In 1756 he published his first work, *A Vindication of Natural Society*, a bit of irony directed at Bolingbroke. In the following year Burke brought out his treatise on aesthetics entitled *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas on the Sublime and Beautiful*. He had worked at this book while in college; probably most of it was written before Burke left Ireland. It was a serious and important study that had a far-reaching effect upon others in England, France, and Germany. In 1757 there also appeared *An Account of the European Settlements in America*, in two volumes. While Burke did not write the book, he did revise it, and he doubtless learned a good deal about America in the process. By this time Burke had begun a history of England which, in several hundred pages, he carried down to the end of the reign of King John. It was not published, however, until his collected works were printed after his death. History had always been, and was to remain, a favorite study of Burke. It was an important part of his thought, for his political philosophy was grounded upon a belief in historical continuity, and his political judgments emphasized the molding influences of circumstances and historical growth. Sometime during this decade Burke also jotted down some *Hints for an Essay on the Drama*. He had been a regular theatre-goer while a student in Dublin, and he continued to frequent the theatre after he came to England. People of the theatre were his friends, among them

Peg Woffington, Goldsmith, Garrick, Sheridan, and George Colman.

In 1758 Burke undertook a task that engrossed much of his time for at least the next thirty years. That was the editorship of Dodsley's *Annual Register*, a publication that continues to the present day. At first Burke probably wrote the entire volume for each year, including the historical account of the year's events and the book reviews. After a few years he had help with the publication. Nevertheless his direct influence was always present, and the *Annual Register*, certainly until 1789 when he resigned the editorship, can be said to be Burke's work. His writing for it helps explain how he kept abreast of contemporary events.

Horace Walpole wrote in 1761 that he had recently dined with, among others, "a young Mr. Burk, who wrote a book in the style of Lord Bolingbroke that was much admired. He is a sensible man, but has not worn off his authorism yet—and thinks there is nothing so charming as writers and to be one—he will know better one of these days." Evidently, after eleven years in London, Burke had a reputation as an author.

Burke also had a reputation for knowledge—general knowledge. As early as 1758 at Garrick's Christmas dinner, Burke contradicted the great Samuel Johnson on a point of fact, and Johnson accepted the correction. The subject of the conversation had been certain affairs of Bengal. Was there any subject upon which Burke was not well informed? Mrs. Thrale, the wife of the brewer and the friend of the *literati* of England, once prepared a chart for rating her friends on their various attainments. A perfect score was twenty. On the count of general knowledge Johnson scored perfectly and Burke rated nineteen. I have my doubts about Johnson's superior ranking.

When Walpole spoke of him as an author Burke was embarking upon other pursuits. About this time he became private secretary to W. G. Hamilton, who soon after went to Ireland as Chief Secretary to the Viceroy. Burke spent most of the next three

years in Ireland, where he renewed friendships and studied the problems—political, commercial, and religious—of his native land. He finally resigned his position after a quarrel with Hamilton, who, it seems, was monopolizing Burke's time and curtailing his intellectual freedom. Burke was back in England in time to become a charter member of the Literary Club. The leading minds of England belonged to this famous dinner and discussion group. When Garrick later said he thought he would join, Johnson exploded. What did Garrick mean thinking he might enter of his own volition into the sacred circle? "The first Duke in England has no right to hold such language." This was a strong statement, coming from a High Tory. The interests of the Club were intellectual, and the conversation often centered around literary subjects. Certainly Burke learned much from the good talk at the Turk's Head where a society gathered which, said Johnson, "can scarcely be matched in the World." Reynolds for painting, Goldsmith for poetry, Percy for antiquities, Burke for oratory, Langton, Beauclerk and others—all were masters of their subjects.

Burke's political career began in the middle 1760's. He became Secretary to the Marquis of Rockingham, the leader of a Whig faction, and in 1765 he entered Parliament. He sat in the House of Commons until his resignation in 1794. The Rockingham party held office twice, in 1765-1766, and again in 1782. The rest of the time they were in opposition, and Burke was busy as the wheelhorse of the party, wearing himself out in trying to maintain what at times seemed a hopeless contest against an ambitious king and a sycophantic ministry, and always serving as the intellectual, though not as the official leader of the party.

In 1767 Charles Lee, later one of Washington's generals, wrote that "An Irishman, one Mr. Burke, is sprung up in the House of Commons, who has astonished everybody with the power of his eloquence, his comprehensive knowledge in all our exterior and internal politics and commercial interests. He wants

nothing but that sort of dignity annexed to rank, and property in England, to make him the most considerable man in the Lower House." Burke acquired the property but never the rank, nor did he ever think denial of the rank unjust. He firmly believed that the great families of England by natural and divine dispensation should control the government of the country.

Burke's literary friends were pleased with his political successes. Johnson told Boswell a few years later that Burke was the first man not only in the House of Commons, but everywhere, and that in his mythical university Burke should be professor of politics and eloquence.

When Burke entered Parliament the struggle between England and her American colonies was brewing. For almost twenty years Burke was absorbed in American affairs. The vast knowledge of America that he possessed when he entered Parliament was enlarged by constant study of imperial relationships. In 1770 the New York Assembly chose Burke as the agent for the colony to represent its interests in England, so that he had another reason for paying particular attention to American affairs. His deservedly famous speeches on American taxation and on conciliation with America are evidence of his superior knowledge of the colonies.

In 1768 Burke purchased an estate, Beaconsfield, twenty-three miles from London, on the Oxford road. Here he retired between sessions of Parliament; here he entertained his many friends with all his Irish hospitality; and here he was able to indulge his passion for farming. Burke wrote, "I have made a push, with all I could collect of my own, and the aid of my friends, to cast a little root in this country. . . . I propose (God willing) to become a farmer in good earnest." And he did. Arthur Young, the agricultural publicist, visited Beaconsfield two years after Burke bought the estate, and in his *The Farmer's Tour through the East of England* recorded Burke's experiments with carrots, deep plowing, drainage, and fertilization.

In the eighteenth century the aristocrats of England took their farming seriously. Boswell distinguished between two kinds of gentleman farmers: "An ordinary gentleman farmer will be satisfied with looking at his fields once or twice a day. The enthusiastical farmer will be constantly employed on them, will have his mind earnestly engaged, will talk perpetually of them." Certainly Burke was of the second group. His letters and his conversation reveal an interest in farming that never flagged.

Burke had long been interested in the affairs of India and the fortunes of the East India Company, for public and for personal reasons. A notable event in his public career was his prosecution of Warren Hastings who, as Governor-General of India, had in Burke's belief ruled tyrannically and corruptly. After several years of special studies and arduous preparation, Burke led the movement to impeach Hastings before the House of Lords. The trial began in 1788 and lasted intermittently until 1795, when Hastings was acquitted. It was a herculean task that Burke, Fox, and Sheridan undertook, and in which Burke was the driving force. This was primarily a humanitarian venture on Burke's part, and he considered it the greatest work of his life. The indirect results were beneficial to the British Empire.

By the late 1780's Burke was, it seemed, a figure of the past. His political career was apparently at an end. Then came the French Revolution, and with all the passion and fervor of which his ardent nature was capable Burke condemned this atheistical, regicidal Jacobinism of France. He spent the last seven years of his life in opposing the French Revolution and urging war against Jacobinism. He died in 1797, predicting a long and bloody holocaust.

These were the major affairs of Burke, but other subjects interested him profoundly. The problems of religion and the Church, especially the question of toleration for Protestant Dissenters and Catholics, drew him into a study of these in relation to the political life of the times. Political economy, that is, trade,

manufacturing, and public finance, was a favorite subject. Adam Smith admitted that Burke was the only man he knew who, thinking as he did on problems of political economy, had arrived at his judgments independently of Smith's teachings.

Without referring to a host of miscellaneous interests, let it be enough to say of Burke, as was said of him, that he knew something of every subject except two—gambling and music. Yet could he be ignorant of either of these? Dr. Charles Burney, the authority on music, was a member of the Club, and Burke secured for him the position of organist at Chelsea Hospital. As to gambling, Burke's younger brother Richard once lost £14,970 in a session of dice. If nothing else, Burke must have known of the dangers of gambling!

While a student in Trinity College, Burke had written, "Knowledge is, doubtless, the greatest acquisition we can make, because it is what denominates us men, and, as you remarked, is the most essential difference between us and the brute beasts." What were the sources of Burke's great fund of knowledge? Not travel, certainly. He went outside the British Isles only three times in his life, and then but to France for brief visits. There were two other sources; conversation with and letters from his friends was one. The other was books. Lord Inchiquin, no friend of Burke's, doubted if Burke read except casually after he was thirty years old. I mention this because it is the only statement I have ever seen that even suggests Burke was not an avid reader. Everything else I know about him points to reading as the great source of his knowledge.

III

There is little information about his library in the sources relating to Burke. Once at Reynolds' home, Burke made a few remarks that Boswell recorded.² Burke expressed a desire to own

² *Private Papers of James Boswell from Malahide Castle, in the Collection of Lt. Col. Ralph Heyward Isham*, Geoffrey Scott and Frederick A. Pottle, eds. (Privately printed, 1928-1936), XVII: 51.

a good library; his books, he said, were not worth more than £100. He wanted especially a library of voyages and travels, and a Shakespeare collection that would include all the old English authors from whom Shakespeare had borrowed. Evidently Burke noticed the libraries in the homes he visited, for on this same occasion he said that he had not seen a good civil law library in England, although he had seen several in Scotland. None of the people who visited Burke's estate, Beaconsfield, speak of his library. Both Arthur Young and Boswell noticed the art collection that Burke had acquired with his estate, but neither seems to have thought the library worth mentioning.³

At the time of the sale the library was owned by Mrs. Burke's nephew, a Mr. Nugent, who had inherited it from Burke's widow upon her death in 1812. He had also acquired Burke's art collection, which he sold at once, holding on to the library for another twenty years. There is no advertisement of the library sale in *The Athenaeum*, *The London Literary Gazette*, or in any of the other contemporary periodicals that I have examined except the *London Times*, which carried notices in the issues of November 6, 7, 8, 1833.

Among the books offered for sale were 221 volumes published after the year of Burke's death in 1797, and these of course could not have been acquired by Burke. So small a number collected over a period of thirty-six years means that neither Nugent nor Mrs. Burke was an ardent book collector. There is a strong probability, therefore, that few of the books published before 1797 were obtained by either of them, though the possibility remains. There were also three other persons who could have contributed to the collection. Burke's son, Richard, who died unmarried in 1794 and who had always lived with his parents, was one of these persons, and the other two were Burke's younger brother, Richard, and Burke's "kinsman," William Burke, both of whom

³ Arthur Young, *The Farmer's Tour through the East of England* (London, W. Strahan, 1771), IV: 84-87; Boswell, *Private Papers*, XV: 202.

lived from time to time in Edmund's home. Count de Benjowsky's *Memoirs and Travels*, published in 1790, contained the autograph of Richard Burke.⁴

There can be no doubt that Burke himself acquired most of the books. A few were given to him by their authors. Dr. Charles Burney's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Abate Metastasio* was inscribed "From the author," and the Marquis de Casaux' *Sur les Effets de l'Impôt* was a presentation copy.⁵ Other items, because of their specialized nature, were surely Burke's, for example a series of manuscript state papers relating to events of 1766 when the first Rockingham administration was in power.⁶ Some of the titles in Burke's library were those of books reviewed in the *Annual Register*.⁷ There is no certainty that Burke was the author of the unsigned reviews in the *Annual Register*, but there is presumptive evidence that he wrote all the reviews until 1765, and some of them from 1766 through 1773, while after the last date the evidence of his authorship is less clear. Of the 106 reviews between 1758 and 1789, there were in Burke's library eighteen titles of editions which were the same as those reviewed, and there were three books from which extracts were printed in the department of the *Annual Register* entitled "Miscellaneous Essays." Burke may have owned copies of other books reviewed that do not appear in the sale catalogue. On June 10, 1777, he wrote to the historian, William Robertson, thanking him for the gift of his history of America.⁸ The book was also reviewed in

⁴ *Sale catalogue*, 2, item 34. There is nothing to indicate to which Richard Burke the autograph belonged.

⁵ *Sale catalogue*, 2, item 29; and 5, item 92. The exact title of the work of Casaux is not given. The book listed in the catalogue is probably *Absurdité de l'impôt territorial et de plusieurs autres impôts*. . . .

⁶ *Sale catalogue*, 26-27, items 628-634.

⁷ Thomas W. Copeland, *Burke and Dodsley's Annual Register*, in: *P.M.L.A.*, LIV: 223-245 (1939); Copeland, *Edmund Burke and the Book Reviews in Dodsley's Annual Register*, in: *P.M.L.A.*, LVII: 446-468 (1942). See also Copeland's dissertation.

⁸ *Correspondence*, Earl Fitzwilliam and Sir Richard Bourke, eds. (London, Rivington, 1844), II: 161. The book was entitled *The History of America* (London, W. Strahan, 1777).

the *Annual Register*, but it is not listed in the catalogue. Perhaps Burke loaned his copy to someone who never returned it. Such a thing did happen to him, as it happens to all of us.⁹ One-sixth of the titles reviewed in the *Annual Register* during the period of Burke's active editorship are listed in the sale catalogue as identical editions. Perhaps they are the review copies themselves.

It is possible to show that Burke had read many of the books listed in the catalogue. Arthur L. Woehl has made a study of Burke's reading, and compiled a list of books that Burke apparently had read.¹⁰ The list is incomplete for the understandable reason that clues to all of Burke's reading cannot be found. There is definite proof that Burke read other books. Woehl did not use the sale catalogue of Burke's library, and while, of course, the presence of books in a man's library is not irrefutable proof that he has read them, the list of books owned by Burke could have served as a check.

Altogether Mr. Woehl found evidence that Burke had read one or more of the books, poems, or plays of 381 different writers. Of these names, 126 are to be found in the sale catalogue, after excluding all about whom there might be any doubts. Most of the authors named in both places fall into two categories, ancient Greek and Roman writers, of whom there are thirty-one; and English writers, both contemporary and earlier, of whom there are sixty-one. That leaves to all other periods and nation-

⁹ Dr. Thomas Campbell, whose *Strictures on the Ecclesiastical and Literary History of Ireland* was published in Dublin in 1789 (*Sale catalogue*, 4, item 62), visited Beaconsfield while he was working on the book. In a letter of February 6, 1788, Dr. Campbell describes how Burke loaned to him four volumes of MS material on Ireland. John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (London, Nichols, Son, and Bentley, 1812-1816), VII: 773. Three days later Dr. Campbell wrote another letter, mentioning how useful these MSS were to him. (Nichols, VII: 801.) In 1792 Burke commissioned his son Richard to get the MSS back from Dr. Campbell. Donald Cross Bryant, *Edmund Burke and His Literary Friends*, in: *Washington University Studies, New Series, Language and Literature*, No. 9 (1939), 231. Richard's mission must have been unsuccessful, for the MSS are not listed in the sale catalogue.

¹⁰ Arthur L. Woehl, *Burke's Reading* (Cornell University unpublished dissertation, 1928).

alities only thirty-four names out of the 126 listed both in the catalogue and in Mr. Woehl's index. This is not to say that of Burke's known readings he had read the identical volumes contained in his library (he studied many of the classical and English writers while a student at Trinity College), but at some time or another he had read a respectable proportion of the books listed in the sale catalogue.

IV

A careful examination of the titles listed in the sale catalogue impresses one with the catholicity of the library. This was not the library of a specialist, but of a man whose interests were broad, varied, and comprehensive, whose intellectual curiosity ranged freely. There is a definite compatibility between the contents of his library and the subjects in which Burke was interested. Social sciences are abundantly represented. The emphasis upon history accurately reflects Burke's mind and propensity. From his youth to the end of his life, Burke was historically-minded, believing that the study of history was both "pleasing" and useful. He owned many books on Irish and English history, and on the histories of Egypt, Persia, Phoenicia, and Hindostan, among other countries. Without listing titles, there are histories of painting, literature, religion, military events, and there are also books of antiquities, Greek, Roman, and English. Of political philosophers, Burke owned the works of the leading writers: Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, Milton, Sidney, Locke, Montesquieu, and Bolingbroke, but not Hobbes. Two contemporary political thinkers, Rousseau and Voltaire, both of whom Burke detested, are also represented. The great names of English legal history are also to be found. In addition to those of Bacon, Blackstone, DeLolme, Coke and Prynne, there are the works of writers on legal subjects whose names are now of academic interest. As a member of Parliament and editor of the *Annual Register* for thirty years, Burke read extensively about contemporary politics.

In the catalogue there are listings of manuscript state papers, a file of the *Annual Register* complete through 1790, some printed copies of parliamentary debates, and a few timely political tracts. The collection on contemporary politics is spotty and incomplete, suggesting that Burke did not preserve many of the current and ephemeral pamphlets he read. There are fifteen titles relating to political economy, the most important being Adam Anderson's *An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce . . .*, Malachy Postlethwayt's *Britain's Commercial Interest Explained and Improved . . .*, and his *The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*, and a one-volume collection of some tracts of Sir William Petty.¹¹ Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* is listed, but in the edition of 1809.¹² As strange as Burke's not having a copy of Smith is the fact that none of Arthur Young's works were in the collection on agriculture. Of the nine titles relating to agriculture, the most important are Columella and Jethro Tull's *The Horse-Hoeing Husbandry: or, An Essay on the Principles of Vegetation and Tillage*.¹³

The men of the eighteenth century were interested in travel literature. Burke shared in that enthusiasm, and he seems to have attempted to build a collection of travels and voyages, including several maps. Among them were those written by men who had been in Italy, Bavaria, Russia, Germany, and other continental countries, including *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy* by Burke's good friend Giuseppe Baretti.¹⁴ Then there were, to name a few, Anthony Benezet's *Some Historical Account of Guinea*, Charles Marie de La Condamine's *Abridged Narrative of Travels through the Interior of South America . . .*, Admiral Anson's *A Voyage round the World . . .*, Captain Cook's *Third and Last voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, Arthur Dobbs' *An Account of the*

¹¹ *Sale catalogue*, 1, item 3; 8, item 171; 19, items 451 and 455; and 25, item 593.

¹² *Sale catalogue*, 20, item 472.

¹³ *Sale catalogue*, 5, item 86; and 21, item 505.

¹⁴ *Sale catalogue*, 2, item 31.

Countries Adjoining to Hudson's Bay . . ., Louis Daniel Lecomte's *Memoirs and Observations . . . in a Late Journey through the Empire of China*, and two famous books on Egypt, Frederick Ludvig Norden's *Travels in Egypt and Nubia*, and Constantin Volney's *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte. . .*¹⁵ Burke, who traveled little, and never farther than Paris, knew much about the world from reading books.

One would expect Burke to own many volumes about Ireland, his native land, since for all of his life he was devoted to promoting her welfare. There are, however, only fifteen titles listed in the catalogue that are related to Ireland. Only a dozen books deal with America, but two of them are important. They are Thomas Hutchinson's *History of the Massachusetts Bay Colony* and Thomas Pownall's *The Administration of the Colonies*, both of which appeared during the 1760's.¹⁶ There are no more books on India than on America.¹⁷ The last major interest of Burke's life was the French Revolution and the European War that grew out of it. While his letters for the period are numerous and his conversations after 1789 usually centered about the Revolution, Burke's library is not a true reflection of his overwhelming interest in the Revolution.¹⁸ Perhaps this is the exception that proves the rule, but only eight titles, none of them significant, relate to the Revolution, and none of the numerous replies to Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* are listed in the catalogue.

¹⁵ *Sale catalogue*, 3, item 35; 5, item 92; 6, item 111; 7, item 140, 154; 13, item 291; 25, item 585; and 23, item 520.

¹⁶ *Sale catalogue*, 12, item 267; and 19, item 451. Burke's annotated copy of Pownall is in the British Museum. Yet the copy of Pownall offered for sale in 1833 was purchased by someone named Ballard (*Sale catalogue*, 19). Either Burke owned two copies of Pownall or Ballard's copy was later acquired by the British Museum.

¹⁷ The small number of books about America and India corroborates the opinion that the sources of Burke's information on events in those two countries were largely verbal or from official papers.

¹⁸ On December 4, 1790, Boswell wrote to Malone about Burke's conduct at the Club on the preceding Tuesday. Burke, said Boswell, was full of his "anti-French Revolution rage, and poured it out so copiously that we had almost nothing else." *The R. B. Adam Library* (Oxford, 1929), I: 22-23.

Next to the social studies, the classical languages and literature are most generously represented in Burke's library. Burke's formal education, as well as the tastes of the eighteenth century, emphasized the classics. In addition to the works of the leading writers of Greece and Rome, the sale catalogue lists Greek and Latin dictionaries and antiquities of Greece and Rome. Burke was an original subscriber to James Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*.¹⁹ The list for European literature is shorter, and the titles indicate a preference for the Romance literatures, especially French and Italian. The catalogue indicates nothing from Germany, Poland, Russia, or Scandinavia. The range in English literature is not extensive, for most of the English writers whose works are included lived in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There are antiquities such as those of William Camden, *Britannia* (ed. of 1789 by R. Gough); nearly all the major works of Francis Grose; the first volume of Sir Henry Spelman's *Concilia*; and Sir William Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire*.²⁰ But there are no mediaeval chronicles, though Burke read some of them as a boy, and Chaucer and Bede are not listed. Burke shared in the contemporary enthusiasm for Shakespeare, and while he did not collect the Shakespeare library he desired, he did acquire several Shakespeare items, including Johnson's edition, Malone's, and the criticisms of Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu, Zachary Grey, John Monck Mason and John Upton.²¹

Among works on religion and philosophy, Burke owned some of ephemeral interest and others of enduring importance. In addition to the *Bible*, the *Book of Common Prayer*, and the *Koran*, there are St. Augustine's *City of God* and Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living*.²² The titles indicate that Burke read some of the great books of Christian literature, but also such polemics of his own

¹⁹ *Sale catalogue*, 26, item 617.

²⁰ *Sale catalogue*, 9, item 203; 15, item 333; 28, item 641; and 10, item 219.

²¹ *Sale catalogue*, 20, items 476, 477, 479; and 22, item 517.

²² *Sale catalogue*, 6, item 116; 4, item 79; 16, item 354; 8, item 176; and 21, item 507.

day as Richard Barron's *The Pillars of Priestcraft and Orthodoxy Shaken*.²³ The same general remark does not hold for philosophy. Aristotle's *Ethica*, or Locke's *On the Human Understanding*, are not offset by more superficial works.²⁴ As a young man Burke was much interested in aesthetics, but the second edition of his *Sublime and Beautiful* (1759) was also the last. Only a few titles relating to aesthetics are in the catalogue, but among them are the writings of Longinus and Blair.²⁵ Drama and art are more adequately represented, and this should not be surprising considering that Garrick, Goldsmith, Sheridan, Reynolds, James Barry, and Johnson were close friends of Burke. There are six volumes on the Greek theatre, several on painting and architecture, some on ancient and modern Roman art, and the works of the great playwrights from the Golden Age of Athens to the Augustan Age of the eighteenth century. Strangely, there are no copies of the plays of Goldsmith and Sheridan. There are four titles of books about music, and three of these works were by Burke's good friend Dr. Burney.

There are a surprising number of medical and scientific titles. Burke's interest in medicine may have been stimulated by the association with his father-in-law, Dr. Christopher Nugent, who lived in Burke's home until his death in 1775. Some of Dr. Nugent's MSS dealing with digestion are listed in the catalogue.²⁶ Burke owned but one book on nervous disorders, Robert Whytt's *Observations on Disorders called Nervous, Hypochondriac or Hysterical* . . . , although it is known that he made a special study of that subject during the winter of 1788-1789 when George III was temporarily insane.²⁷ In addition to the works of Hippocrates, Galen, and Harvey, Burke owned *A Description of the Jail Dis-*

²³ *Sale catalogue*, 3, item 41.

²⁴ *Sale catalogue*, 2, item 15; and 13, item 294.

²⁵ *Sale catalogue*, 13, item 301; and 6, item 124.

²⁶ *Sale catalogue*, 25, item 584.

²⁷ *Sale catalogue*, 23, item 534; James Prior, *Memoir of . . . Edmund Burke* (London, 3rd ed., 1839), p. 303.

temper by Dr. James Carmichael Smyth, *An Account of the Diseases . . . in the British Military Hospitals . . .* by Dr. Donald Monro and John Quincy's *English Dispensatory*.²⁸ Although one accepts the fact of Burke's wide reading and extensive knowledge, one is nevertheless surprised to learn that he owned so many books on practical and theoretical science. During the trial of Warren Hastings, Burke's colleagues, Sheridan and Philip Francis, came to Beaconsfield to discuss the affair. Burke, found in his garden examining a frog under a glass, launched into a lengthy discourse upon the natural history of the frog, to Francis' vexation and therefore to Sheridan's delight. Only after delivering his zoölogical lecture was Burke ready to talk about the trial. Among the leading scientific works listed in the catalogue are those of Buffon and Boyle (not exclusively scientific), Euclid's *Elements*, Newton's *Theory of Light and Colours* and *Opticks*, and *Malpighii Opera*.²⁹ The special scientific interests indicated by the titles in the catalogue are chemistry, optics, and astronomy.

V

If this library reflects the interests and activities of Edmund Burke, it also reflects those of his era. The men of the eighteenth century ardently pursued the study of society in its various manifestations. They had a strong feeling for history, holding it to be a didactic discipline which would enable men to profit from the mistakes of their ancestors. History would demonstrate what political philosophy taught, that the human race would inexorably progress towards perfection; it would show that the men of the present are the ancients because they build upon the foundations of knowledge erected by the past. The study of history, pursued from this point of view, is of utilitarian value. The eighteenth century, therefore, witnessed an increase in the pub-

²⁸ *Sale catalogue*, 17, item 406; 17, item 396; 15, item 346; 21, item 493; 14, item 321; and 20, item 463.

²⁹ *Sale catalogue*, 2, item 23; 9, item 188; 10, item 231; 15, item 325; and 18, item 438.

lication of historical works and a growing general interest in the life of the past. Studies of certain specialized aspects of society often followed the historical pattern. The English law and constitution, being products of historical evolution, could be understood only by means of the historical approach. The conception of growth and development, so clearly understood by Burke, was shared by the great legists from Coke onwards. A similar approach was made to contemporary politics. Burke was not the only person who viewed the dispute between England and the American colonies in the light of the historical development of the empire. Samuel Johnson, who expressed his contemptuous attitude toward the rebellious colonies in a pamphlet entitled *Taxation no Tyranny*, used history to justify the policy followed by the British government. Burke deduced one set of conclusions from the history of the empire, Johnson an opposite set, but both men went back to history to find material for their arguments.

The study of economics became a separate discipline. Speculative inquiry and statistical evidence provided the means of formulating general principles of political economy. Treatises on trade, agriculture, industry, finance, tables of probability for annuity schemes, and other evidences of the emergence of a statistical-minded group of men thinking in terms of a science of political economy are numerous. Burke's library contained enough books on political economy to indicate that he shared in the enthusiasm for the "dismal science." The agricultural revolution of the eighteenth century was in part the result of a growing scientific attitude toward the use of land. Many books about agriculture appeared, and some of them, although fewer than one might expect, were acquired by Burke.

Burke and his contemporaries studied the life of Europe, past and present, and the life of non-European peoples as well. This interest was not a mere purposeless curiosity. Europeans desired to learn about non-Christian religions in order to discover

the elements common to all religions that could provide the materials for the formulation of a rational religion. The study of society in its primitive or non-European phases might assist men in discovering the natural laws of social organization. It was the purpose of the political philosophers to show how much happier men would be when the artificial, antiquated, and oppressive régimes under which they were living would be replaced by régimes whose institutions were based upon natural, rational principles. Of particular interest to the people of the eighteenth century were unfamiliar peoples and societies. Many books of travel and voyages appeared to cater to these interests, and Burke owned a number of them.

While the emphasis upon literature remained strong and the classics were the basic studies of the century, the humanities had to share with the social studies some of the interest they had formerly nearly monopolized, but they remained the chief study of the educated man. The classic spirit pervaded the eighteenth century. The growth of naturalism and romanticism changed certain patterns, as in gardening, and in art and literature the classical emphasis was somewhat lessened, yet interest in antiquity was a constant factor. Voltaire, in lauding the age of Louis XIV, did not scoff at fifth-century Athens and imperial Rome; rather, he insisted that those were two of the four greatest periods in human history, when men achieved the noblest things. The veneration for classical antiquity is revealed by Burke's library, where numerous books by classical authors and about ancient times reflect the spirit of the age. Burke's library also contained many works of literature dating from the Renaissance onwards, and originating in the Romance countries. This fact as well as the emphasis upon the English writers since Spenser is in consonance with the literary tastes of the time.

Among thoughtful men there was still an interest in philosophy and religion, although polite society was either torpid about these studies, or followed the paths leading to deism or skepti-

cism. Burke was neither a skeptic nor a deist; he was intensely devout and a firm believer in the truths of revealed religion. His library represents the scholarly attitude instead of the prevailing tone of the *salons*. Among the bluestockings, however, Burke was much at home, for his library shows that he shared their interest in the theatre and in art.

The seventeenth century, broadly speaking, was a period during which fundamental scientific laws were enunciated by Galileo, Harvey, Descartes, Newton, and Boyle. The interpretation and popularization of these laws, as well as their practical application to the problem of ameliorating the conditions of human existence, came in the next century. Literary men like Voltaire popularized Newton; Joseph Priestley, a minister, had his chemical laboratory and discovered oxygen; the vogue for popularization and scientific experimentation was widespread. Presses issued increasing numbers of books about science that were demanded by an eager reading public, and many of these books were acquired by Burke.

The library of Edmund Burke is more than an evidence of Burke's varied intellectual interests. The emphases Burke placed upon history, upon classical, romance, and English literatures, and to a lesser extent upon other social studies, humanities and science, are also the emphases of the society in which Burke lived. His interests as indicated by his library were clearly in harmony with the contemporary climate of opinion.

Certainly Burke's was not one of the great collections of the eighteenth century, to be compared with the library of Lord Spencer which became the nucleus of the later Rylands Library in Manchester. Burke could not have competed with the wealthy aristocrats of England in purchasing books. Nor have I found any indication that he desired to be known as a book collector. His library was a working collection. The books he owned were the ones he wanted to read, books that would be useful to him in his public life and in his discussions with his wide circle of friends

among whom general knowledge counted for much. Titles that are little known today were familiar in Burke's period, indicating that when Burke acquired them he was not attempting to collect rare items, though many of them might be considered rare today.³⁰ Burke's library was outstanding neither for its size nor for its monetary value. It was utilitarian in every sense; it reflected accurately the mind of its owner and the tastes of his contemporaries.

³⁰ Most of the items sold for a few shillings, while 91, or about one-seventh of the items, sold for more than a pound. A sum of £8 was paid for the various antiquities of Grose (*Sale catalogue*, 15, item 333), numbering fifteen volumes. A collection of miscellaneous tracts (*Sale catalogue*, 22, item 515) sold for £7/12/6. A twenty-five volume set of *Universal History* brought £8/14 (*Sale catalogue*, 28, item 655).

Bibliographical Notes

*The Prologue to Nathaniel Lee's "Mithridates," 1678**

A rare variant form of the prologue in Nathaniel Lee's play *Mithridates*, first published in 1678, has not, I think, been recorded. It is found in the Princeton University Library copy and in the Henry E. Huntington.¹

This variant early form reads as follows:

Prologue, by Mr. Lee.

Not careful Leaders, when the Trumpets call Their Martial Squadrons on, to stand or fall, Toss'd with more doubts, than careful Poets are When vent'rous Wit for Sally does prepare; When Humming Voices bid the Play begin, And the last flourish calls the Prologue in. Here you, like dreadful Warriours, judging sit; And, in full Councel, try all Writers Wit. To some, for Sense Renown'd, our Authors bow; And what you Doom, for a just Fate allow: But sure far less such Judges Poets dread, Than those Raw Blades who will not let 'em Plead, But, e're they can be heard, cry, shoot 'em dead. These Pyrats, they both Arms and Wits debase; Who Fields and Poems, with their Spleen, disgrace, Poets and Warriours both shou'd have in Chase: These Libellers who noblest Fights despise, Yet, when a Pan but flashes, shut their Eyes. They who write <i>Lampoons</i> , vilely get a Name	[5] [10] } [15]
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* The investigation for this note was made as part of a larger project for a bibliography of Restoration drama under grant from the Research Council of the Richmond Area University Center.

¹ Hugh Macdonald, *John Dryden; A Bibliography of Early Editions and of Drydeniana* (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1939), no. 112a, lists only the common form, which in America is found in the copies at W. A. Clark, Claremont, Congress, Newberry, Chicago, Harvard, Chapin, Cornell, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Illinois, Ohio State, and Texas.

By others Infamy, and live in shame; [20]
 Fifes, Whifflers, and the silly'st Sense, not fit
 To be the Powder-Monkeys of true Wit:
 Mimies, like Apes, what's ill, for head they cover,
 And live upon the Vermin of a Lover:
 Nauseous to all, like Pills, by Fortune hurl'd, [25]
 And coated o're with Gold, to Purge the World.
 Neglecting these, and rusting to your aid,
 To Beauty our Last Vows, like yours, are made:
 Beauty, which still adorns the op'ning List,
 Which *Cæsar's* Heart vouchsafes not to resist: [30]
 To that alone devoted is this day;
 For, by the Poet, I was bid to say,
 In the first draught, 'twas meant the *Ladies Play*. }

As a result of stop-press correction during the early stages of the printing various misprints were altered to correct readings, but—more important—a certain amount of textual revision was made, obviously by someone in authority. Of possible moment is the omission of Lee's name in the heading and the substitution of the single word "*PROLOGUE*." in italic capitals. Line 19 is revised to read "Who write *Lampoons*, and vilely get a Name", and in line 21 "and the silly'st" is altered to read "of the justest". In line 23 "for head they cover" is changed to read "from heads they drain", and this rhyme alteration causes in line 24 the substitution of "brain" for "Lover". Lines 25-26 are completely omitted, so that the revised form contains only 31, not 33 lines. The following misprints are corrected: in line 14 "they" becomes "that"; in line 20 "in shame" becomes "on shame"; in line 23 "Mimies" is changed to "Mimics"; and in line 27 "rusting" to "trusting".

This prologue leaf, though customarily inserted in the preliminaries where it belongs, was actually printed as sig. L4 in the final sheet.² The printing position is of some importance for assessing the significance of the removal of Lee's name as author in the corrected state of the heading. Whether or not Lee actually wrote the prologue is ultimately a decision for literary criticism, perhaps. One should point out, however, that the original assignment of authorship to him is of considerable importance, but that its removal—from the bibliographical point of view—may have no

² In the Huntington, Ohio State, and Pennsylvania copies it is preserved still conjugate as sig. L4. Although the leaf is customarily unpagged, the Ohio State copy exhibits what is a unique variant among the copies listed in that the leaf is pagged 73 on its recto.

significance. The original heading is similar to that of the epilogue by Dryden printed as sig. L3, and since prologue and epilogue were thus set together, the compositor seems to have adopted a standard form for the two headings. Moreover, this form distinguishing the two authors would have been appropriate if the play had actually been issued with the prologue in the L4 position. When the prologue appears in the preliminaries of Restoration plays, however, the author is not mentioned unless he differs from the author of the play. Since the corrections and revisions made by stop-press corrections pass beyond the province of proofreader or compositor, some authoritative source must be held responsible. If this source was Lee himself—and there is no evidence to the contrary—there would be no significance in the deletion of his name from the heading to follow current practice for a prologue which obviously was to be issued as a part of the preliminaries.

FREDSON BOWERS

*An American Printing Equipment in Mauritius in the
Eighteenth Century*

Mauritius is a small island in the South Indian Ocean which, after being held by the Dutch in the seventeenth century and the French in the eighteenth, when it was known as Ile de France, became a British colony in 1810.

Recent investigations by Dr. A. Toussaint, the Archivist of Mauritius, have revealed that this island has an important record of early printing dating from 1768. In the present contribution, which throws further light on this question, Dr. Toussaint shows that the United States had something to do with the beginnings of printing in this part of the world.

Three printing plants were active in Ile de France before its conquest by the British in 1810. The first was brought from France in 1767 by the new administration that took charge of the island when it was ceded by the French East India Company to the Crown after the Seven Years' War; the third was introduced, also from France, by an expedition sent by Napoleon to explore the South Indian Ocean in 1801; but the origin of the second, which, though introduced in 1794, was not set up until 1802, remained somewhat obscure for a long time.

While exploring the *terra incognita* of the *Mauritius Archives* in search of material concerning the commercial relations between America and Ile de France at the end of the eighteenth century, the present author

came upon documents from which it would appear that this second printing equipment came from America. Briefly the story is as follows:

On 1 September 1794 an American ship called the *Maryland*, commissioned by Mason, Fenwick & Co. (referred to in Mauritius as J. Masson, Phingwitt & Co.) of Georgetown on the Potomac, Maryland, now a part of the District of Columbia, and commanded by Captain Josias Speack, put in at Port-Louis, Ile de France, on her way to Tranquebar on the Madras coast, India, to repair damages suffered during a storm.¹

Her valuable cargo included wine, brandy, oil, soap, paper and, among other commodities, ten cases of fine Baskerville type. As the outbreak of the Revolution had interrupted the regular dispatch of supplies from France, there was a dearth of many essential commodities in the island. In the circumstances the coming of the *Maryland* was a godsend and the Colonial Assembly, which then ruled Ile de France, decided on 5 September to requisition her cargo, in spite of Captain Speack's protests.²

On 9 September the ship was unloaded and the goods were transferred to a warehouse in Port-Louis under the supervision of the local Directory.³ Their total value was assessed at 748,977 *livres*, 10 *sols*, 6 *deniers* on which

¹ *Mauritius Archives*, F30, fol. 23 and E80, fol. 26.

The firm referred to in Mauritius as Masson, Phingwitt & Co. can be identified more exactly as Mason, Fenwick & Co. In a letter from John Mason, the fourth son of George Mason (1725-1792), at Georgetown to Thomas Jefferson under the date of April 26, 1793 (Library of Congress, Div. Mss.), it is stated that "I have sometime since established a House in this Town, under the same firm with that in Bordeaux." Under the date of October 12, 1789, there is reference to a letter in vol. 30, p. 436, *The Writings of George Washington*, Bicentennial Edition, addressed to John Mason of Fenwick, Mason & Co., merchants, Bordeaux, France. In the *Columbia Mirror*, Alexandria, Va., June 22, 1793, there is an advertisement of Fenwick, Mason & Co., Georgetown, Maryland. *The Centinel of Liberty*, Georgetown, June 3, 1800, contains the following notice dated June 1: "The copartnership heretofore carried on under the firms of Fenwick, Mason & Co. at Bordeaux, and of Mason & Fenwick, at George-Town, being dissolved by the mutual consent of the parties, all persons will be pleased to apply for settlement, to Joseph Fenwick at Bordeaux, or to the subscriber in this town. John Mason."

In reference to the ship, a copy of a letter in the National Archives, Washington, D.C., from the Collector of Customs at Georgetown to the Secretary of the Treasury at Philadelphia under the date of July 27, 1795, reports that the ship *Maryland* of that port had just arrived from the Isle of France. In the course of that voyage, she had been taken into Bermuda by a British cruiser and had her cargo condemned there as French property, the captors settling with the owners of the ship. In the letter, the name of the owners is not given. [James B. Childs.]

² *Op. cit.*, B16, fols. 74 and 76.

³ *Op. cit.*, E80, fol. 29.

estimate the paper stood for 19,910 *livres* and the printing material for 20,000.⁴

A trader named Le Marchand offered to buy it for the neighbouring island of Reunion where a small and not very well-equipped printing establishment had been set up in 1792, but the Colonial Assembly would not part with the type and, on 10 October, instructed the Directory to make it available for use as soon as possible.⁵

A press was required, so the Directory ordered one from a cabinet-maker named Noel and, at about the same time, appointed one Littré to take charge of the plant,⁶ but, for some unknown reason, the press was never delivered.

On 2 January the Directory was informed that Noel "had ceased work on the printing-press and seemed unwilling to continue."⁷ Intimation was given to him that if he did not resume the work he would be denounced to the Committee of Public Safety, but the threat proved ineffective, and, by June 1795, no further progress was made.

Thereupon a second attempt was made to get the type sent over to Reunion, this time by the manager of the printing establishment of that island, but on 6 July 1795 his application was turned down.⁸

On 4 August the Colonial Assembly again urged the Directory to speed up matters,⁹ but all this body did apparently was to offer the type for sale to the manager of the Ile de France printing establishment, named Lambert, who declined the offer, being unwilling to increase his expenses before a ten years' contract which he had signed with the government in 1791 came to an end.¹⁰

But when the rival plant introduced in 1801 was set up it became imperative for Lambert to secure the printing material from the *Maryland* in order to overhaul his old and worn-out equipment and face competition.

On 24 October 1801 he accordingly informed the Colonial Assembly that he was now prepared to buy the Baskerville set and applied, at the same time, for the renewal of his contract for another period of ten years.¹¹

⁴ *Op. cit.*, E56, fol. 41.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, B16, fol. 76, and B17, fol. 24.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, E80, fol. 118.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, E81, fol. 49.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, B20, fol. 66, E83, fol. 101, 106 and 114.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, B20, fol. 66.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, E2, fol. 172.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, E2, fol. 172.

The next day the newcomer made the same offer, claiming that preference should be given to him because he had undertaken heavy expenses to set up a new press in the public interest.¹²

The coveted type was estimated by Lambert at 640 *piastres* and by L'Hortal, the manager of the new establishment, at 250. The official estimate by the *agent national* ranged from 1,000 to 1,200 *piastres*.¹³ In the circumstances, the Assembly decided, on 28 October, to sell to the highest bidder both the type and the commission of government printer.¹⁴ A draft of specifications was drawn up which Lambert, as far as he was concerned, readily accepted, provided, however, he would secure the type he needed at a cost of 2,000 *piastres* payable in two instalments.¹⁵

But the Assembly finally changed its mind. On 5 December 1801, after comparing the type-proofs of the two printers¹⁶—a comparison which, needless to say, was bound to tip the balance in favour of the newcomer—it decided to give the commission of government printer to L'Hortal.¹⁷

Lambert, however, did not give up the struggle. On 12 December he renewed his offer to buy the type from the *Maryland* concerning which no decision had been taken yet.¹⁸ On 16 December the Directory referred the matter to the Assembly, which ordered the type to be auctioned. On 26 December Lambert wrote again to say that his offer of 2,000 *piastres* still held good; should the type be auctioned, however, he hoped he would be allowed to withdraw his offer and make his own bid.¹⁹

The type was finally sold at auction in January or February 1802—the date is uncertain—and Lambert secured it at a fairly high figure, we may presume.

The earliest-known specimen of work produced by him with the new Baskerville type is a copy of a letter from the Minister of Marine to the administrators of Ile de France, registered in February 1802 and probably printed in the same month.²⁰

¹² *Op. cit.*, E2, fol. 171.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, E3, fol. 197.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, E2, fol. 173.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, E1, fol. 9.

¹⁶ A copy of the type-proof of Lambert's establishment exists, but is not reproduced here.

¹⁷ *Mauritius Archives*, B41.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, E93, fol. 99, and E2, fol. 17.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, E2, fol. 198.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, A1, fol. 113.



ÉGALITÉ.

A l'île de France, de l'imprimerie de P. N. LAMBERT,

12=
17/ Pluviose an 10
15^e 16^e 17^e 18^e 19^e 20^e 21^e 22^e 23^e 24^e 25^e 26^e 27^e 28^e 29^e 30^e (R)
7 fem
1802

RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE.

ETABLISSEMENTS FRANÇAIS,

A l'Est du Cap de Bonne - Espérance.

PROCLAMATION.

Aux Habitans des Isles de France
& de la Réunion.

CITOYENS,

SI des Hommes Publics chargés de fonctions étendues et difficiles, peuvent attendre le prix de leur dévouement et de leurs travaux, il n'en est point de plus beau que le droit de faire et d'annoncer du bonheur à leurs semblables.

Attaché à ces Colonies par les liens les plus honorables et les plus chers, j'éprouve une vive jouissance en leur transmettant aujourd'hui des nouvelles importantes à leur salut et à leur prospérité.

Notre Patrie a vu succéder la paix aux calamités d'une guerre terrible, longue et glorieuse.

Un Gouvernement sage, fort et humain s'occupe de cicatriser de profondes playes et de consoler la Société.

Placés à quatre mille lieues de lui, nos longues alarmes, notre courage, notre fidélité n'ont échappé ni à sa sollicitude, ni au sentiment de sa gloire, ni à sa justice.

Il nous assure le terme de tant de maux, le prix de tant de mérite; et, quand par la force de ses armes, des ses vœux et de sa sagesse, il a fait succéder le calme aux orages, la paix aux victoires, et qu'il a su préférer le titre humain et magnanime de pacificateur à celui de conquérant, il ne trompera pas des enfans auxquels il tend des mains paternelles; pour les arracher du naufrage, et auxquels il décerne à si juste titre le nom glorieux de braves et fides Habitans des Isles de France et de la Réunion.

Lui supposer des vœux moins franches et moins généreuse, serait une idée trop injurieuse pour lui, trop pénible pour notre Patrie et trop douloureuse pour nous.

Il est bien tems, sans doute, que nos alarmes s'appaisent, que l'espoir et une juste confiance succèdent aux cruelles inquiétudes qui nous consomment incessamment depuis dix années: que ces Colonies se consolent et se reposent; qu'il soit permis aux Magistrats, chargés de leur conservation, d'appliquer des remèdes plus doux à des maux moins sensibles, et qui touchent au terme de leur guérison; qu'il soit permis enfin à nos Familles, à nos enfans, de goûter le calme et le sommeil.

Les lettres du Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies que je prends sur moi de faire imprimer ici, ne sont qu'une faible esquisse de la gloire acquise et de la prospérité réservée à notre Patrie et à ces Colonies; mais il est pour elles d'autres motifs de joie et de reconnaissance, consignés dans une lettre particulière du Ministre, à laquelle un principe de discrétion me laisse regretter de ne pouvoir donner une plus grande publicité par le vœu de l'impression, mais dont mon attachement à ces Colonies et le profond sentiment du bonheur de l'humanité m'enhardissent à déposer la copie dans chaque Municipalité des dites Isles, auxquelles je vais m'empresser de l'adresser, et dont j'invite les Colonos à se hâter de prendre connaissance.

Leur fidèle et sincère ami.

Le Gouverneur-Général

MAGALLON.

A l'Isle de France, le 19 Pluviose, an 10. de la République Française.

Another good specimen is a proclamation of Governor Magallon announcing the signature of the peace of Amiens.²¹ Photographs of these two specimens, both from the *Mauritius Archives*, are reproduced here.

Lambert's rival did not remain long in the field. On 22 August 1802 his equipment was purchased by one Boudret, who immediately joined forces with Lambert. The partnership lasted until January 1803 when Boudret bought Lambert out of it and become sole proprietor of the two plants. These subsequently again changed owners but remained united until Ile de France passed into British hands.

A. TOUSSAINT

The First Non-Serial Puerto Rican Imprint

While the first printing in Puerto Rico began with the *Gaceta de Puerto Rico* in 1808 or earlier, there has been some question as to when the first non-serial Puerto Rican imprint appeared. For some time it was believed that 1812 was the date of the first such imprint. Antonio S. Pedreira, who heard of a great deal more than he ever saw, mentions two such works in his *Bibliografía puertorriqueña*, both with extremely meagre descriptions, viz., (1) Manuel María Sanlúcar: *Sermón, 2 de mayo de 1812*. P.R., 1812. 18 p. and (2) José María Santaella: *Discurso panegírico que hizo a sus feligreses*. P.R., 1812. 18 p. A third 1812 imprint was noted in "Catálogo Número 1" of the Librería de Victoria Vindel, Relatores 2, Madrid, in 1924, viz., SanLucar, Fray Manuel María de. (Misionero Capuchino) *Quadernito de varias especies de coplas muy devotas. Impreso en Puerto Rico, año de 1812*. En 8°; Cuero azul, filetes, bandas interiores, cortes dorados. 350 pesetas. No copy of the two pamphlets by Sanlúcar or of the one by Santaella has ever been located.

Recently the William L. Clements Library acquired the following: D. ANTONIO IGNACIO DE CORTABARRIA, | CABALLERO PENSIONADO DE LA REAL Y DISTINGUIDA ORDEN | ESPAÑOLA DE CARLOS III.°, MINISTRO TOGADO DEL REAL Y | SUPREMO CONSEJO DE CASTILLA, Y COMISIONADO REGIO PARA LA | PACIFICACION GENERAL DE LAS PROVINCIAS DE VENEZUELA. | *A los vecinos y habitantes de las Provincias de | Caracas, Barinas, Cumaná, y Nueva Barcelona*. [1]-[8] p., of which p. [8] is blank. 30 x 20½ cm. "Puerto-Rico 20 de Julio de 1811" (p. 7). Rebound in one-quarter dark-green oasis niger. Spine title: CORTABARRIA. PROCLAMA A LOS VE-

²¹ *Op. cit.*, C13, fol. 114.

CINOS Y HABITANTES DE LAS PROVINCIAS DE CARACAS ETC.— PUETO [sic] RICO 1811.

A related pamphlet has been located in the Yale University Library: D. ANTONIO IGNACIO DE CORTABARRIA, | CABALLERO PENSIONADO DE LA REAL Y | DISTINGUIDA ORDEN ESPAÑOLA DE CARLOS III. °, | MINISTRO TOGADO DEL REAL Y SUPREMO CON- | SEJO DE CASTILLA, Y COMISIONADO REGIO PARA | LA PACIFICACION GENERAL DE LAS PROVINCIAS | DE VENEZUELA. | *A los Pueblos de las Provincias de | Caracas, Barinas, Cumaná, y Nueva | Barcelona.* l. [11-60] p., 1. P. [60] is blank. 13½ x 19¼ cm. "Puerto-Rico 20 de setiembre de 1811" (p. 59). In green, black, and white stenciled paper cover.

LAWRENCE S. THOMPSON

"The Star Rover" and Daniel Foss's Oar

Would you like to know with certainty that aside from his physical body man has a spiritual nature—a soul? Would you be interested to know that at or after the time of a man's physical death his soul is (sometimes, at least) reincarnated and lives in another man, and may go through many such physical lives for perhaps thousands of years?

Jack London wrote a novel (*The Star Rover*, New York, Macmillan, 1914) in which he presented such a view of these things. In this story, his hero is Professor Darrell Standing, a convict of San Quentin prison who remembered and told of his lives and adventures in many previous incarnations. In the incarnation which preceded his life as Professor Standing, he was Daniel Foss (Chapter 19, p. 255). The story of Foss corresponds very closely with a pamphlet printed in Boston in 1816. A man claiming to be Daniel Foss wrote this account of his adventures which he sold on the streets of Boston. It was entitled *A Journal of the Shipwreck and Sufferings of Daniel Foss, a Native of Elkton, Maryland*. In it the author states that he sailed from Philadelphia in 1809 as a common sailor on the Brig *Navigator* bound for the Friendly Islands. He says that the ship "ran foul of an island of ice" in the South Pacific on November 25, 1809, and "foundered." He was the sole survivor. With the help of an oar from the longboat of the ship, he swam to the shore of a desert island where he remained for five years until he was rescued by a passing vessel. He tells how he killed seals, ate the meat and used the skins.

Foss states that he brought the oar from the longboat home with him and that he "deposited it" in the Philadelphia Museum. To strengthen

the story as it appears in *The Star Rover*, Jack London wrote a footnote, signed by the "Editors," alleging that they had written to Hosea Salsburty, Curator of the Philadelphia Museum, and that he acknowledged that an oar, corresponding with the description, was in the possession of that museum.

The Foss pamphlet exists with at least three different Boston imprints, all dated 1816.

In the Harvard College Library, there is a copy of a pamphlet entitled *A Journal of the Shipwreck and Sufferings of Daniel Foss, a Native of Elkton, Maryland*, printed for B. Marsden, Boston, 1816, 24 pp.

The New York Public Library has a similar pamphlet except that it was printed by N. Coverly, Jr., Boston, 1816.

There is still another copy in the hands of John A. Ferguson (Past President, Royal Australian Historical Society), Hunters' Hill, N.S.W., Australia. This copy was printed by Thomas Hazard, Boston, about 1816.

The Coverly edition was reprinted in Extra Number 28 of the *Magazine of History, with Notes and Queries* (New York, William Abbatt, 1914), pp. 881-901.

It is referred to by Sabin in his *Dictionary of Books Relating to America*, but the date of publication is given there as 1812.

At first there seemed to be no valid reason to disbelieve the story. This man was a common sailor. Why should he tell anything but the truth? There was no *National Geographic Magazine* and the day of public geographical lectures had not arrived. There seemed to be nothing really improbable in the story.

But investigation at or near Elkton, Maryland, does not reveal any family named Foss residing there between 1790 and 1810. This in itself is hardly disproof, for the records are far from complete, but it is interesting when considered with the subsequent evidence.

Foss states that the Brig *Navigator* sailed from Philadelphia bound for the Friendly Islands and was wrecked on November 25, 1809. We can assume that she sailed "around the Horn" and that he, therefore, left Philadelphia not earlier than the end of June, 1809. Unfortunately for his story, the Navigation Commission for the Delaware River has made a search of the Records of the former Board of Port Wardens for the years 1802-1809 inclusive and finds no data referring in any way to the Brig *Navigator*.

The Maritime Records of the Port of Philadelphia, Section III, Arrivals and Clearances of Vessels 1808-10, Outbound, does not list the

Brig *Navigator* as sailing from this port; neither is there any reference to the vessel in the Alphabetical List of Masters and Crews, Section V, 1808-09. Furthermore, in the National Archives in Washington, the records of vessels registered at the Ports of Philadelphia, New York and Boston have been searched for the period 1805-1809. No trace of the Brig *Navigator* was discovered. The boat may, of course, have had an older registry, or have been registered in some other port; but the cumulative evidence begins to cast doubt on the existence of any such ship as the Brig *Navigator*.

Daniel Foss narrates in his pamphlet how he carved on the oar with his knife the story of his stay on the island, and he tells of his rescue and of his return to the United States. Then he alleges that he gave the oar with its carved records to the "Philadelphia Museum." This donation (if his statement be true) must have been made before the date of his pamphlet: 1816. At that time, Peale's Museum, often known as the Philadelphia Museum, was the only museum of curiosities in Philadelphia.

Charles Willson Peale, a well-known artist, established a museum in his residence in Philadelphia in 1784. In 1802, he set up a museum of rarities in the Philosophical Hall of the old State House. He died in 1827.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in its library in Philadelphia, has the original accession book of Peale's Museum, most of it in the handwriting of Charles Willson Peale. In this same library, there is a catalogue of the 1848 auction when a large part of the museum was sold. There are several other catalogues referring to Peale's Museum in the library of the Historical Society and of The Library Company of Philadelphia, as well as one in Cincinnati.

In none of these books is there any reference whatsoever to the accession of such a specimen as this oar, although that does not prove its non-existence. There are in the accession book several entries of articles donated weeks before the entry was made. The oar, as Daniel Foss describes it, was an ordinary oar such as was used by the boat of any ship. Peale was a busy man with many interests, and may have accepted the donation without feeling that it was a very desirable specimen for his museum. However, the records of the auction sales of the material from Peale's Museum do not mention such an oar. No museum in Philadelphia can find any trace of it.

Finally, there has been no man named Hosea Salsburty connected with any museum in Philadelphia during the past fifty years. However, people still read *The Star Rover* (it was reprinted recently in *Famous Fantastic Mysteries*) and they appear to feel that if the footnote be true—that if the

oar is in the museum and Jack London's story is true—then it is proven that man has a soul. The oar will prove it! And so, from all parts of the United States, from Canada, Europe, and Australia they write letters addressed to the Curator of the Philadelphia Museum, and all the letters reach my desk. In the past, I was much inclined to believe the story of his shipwreck as told by Daniel Foss and to believe that he brought the oar home with him. I have been willing to believe that he did give the oar to Peale's Museum about the year 1815. There can be no question, I think, that Jack London read the account written by Daniel Foss of his shipwreck and his adventures. The novelist stole the story as Shakespeare stole many of his plots and he used it skilfully.

But if there was no Foss family in Elkton, Maryland (1790-1810), who wrote the pamphlet and why? If there was no *Brig Navigator*, was anyone shipwrecked? If there was no oar, there is no material proof of Foss's story, let alone the existence of the soul.

All this leads to embarrassment on the part of the Curator of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum, who has to reply to his eager correspondents. I wonder who will write the next letter!

CHARLES R. TOOTHAKER

*Swinburne's Letter Concerning Poe**

Letter XCII of the Bonchurch edition from A. C. Swinburne to John H. Ingram, the English biographer of Edgar Allan Poe, bears the dating "April 21st, 1874."¹ That this dating is an error, either through a slip of

* Mr. Cauthen's Note had been sent to press before it was discovered that Mr. W. T. Bandy had reached the same conclusions a year ago (*A Misdated Swinburne Letter*, in: *Modern Language Notes*, 64: 177-178, March 1949). The fullness of Mr. Cauthen's research, however, makes publication of his Note still seem desirable. *Editor*.

¹ *Letters of Algernon Charles Swinburne*, edited by Sir Edmund Gosse and Thomas James Wise (London, William Heinemann Ltd., 1927), XVIII: 134-136. This letter was first published by Wise in a privately printed pamphlet, *Letters Chiefly Concerning Edgar Allan Poe from Algernon Charles Swinburne to John H. Ingram* (London, Printed for Private Circulation, 1910), 15-18; it was reprinted in *The Letters of Algernon Charles Swinburne*, edited by Gosse and Wise (New York, John Lane Company, 1919), I: 136-138. The same dating of "April 21st, 1874" is found in these earlier publications of the letter. The original of this letter unfortunately has not been located. It is possible that it was in Wise's possession in 1910 at the time of its first publication, but it is not mentioned in the *Ashley Catalogue* (London, Printed for Private Circulation Only, 1925), VII: 20-21, and it was not included in the Ashley Library when it was acquired by the British Museum. Searches of the holdings of the British Museum, Worcester College of Oxford University,

the poet's pen or by an editorial oversight, can be proved by an examination of events referred to in the letter. Although the Bonchurch editors have appended only four notes to the letter, one of them incorrect, there are references other than those editorially noted that allow us to show that the date now accepted is erroneous and that a new date may be suggested.

Two items in particular enable us to place the letter with some accuracy approximately two years after its accepted date: in the second paragraph of the letter, Swinburne asks, "Have you seen the admirable version of Poe's *Marginalia* appearing in the *République des Lettres*?" Such a translation, with a short introductory note signed "C[harles] M[allarmé],"^{1a} appeared in the first series of that magazine in the issue for March 20, 1876, pages 131-136. The magazine had not begun publication until that year, and Swinburne could have written neither of the magazine nor of the translation in it until March of 1876.

While this is the latest date in 1876 that can be adduced by the use of external evidence, one other item allows us to place the letter definitely in that year: in the third paragraph, Swinburne writes, "I am glad Mr. Tennyson has sent a letter of sympathy to the Committee, it is a just and graceful act of recognition on his part of one who was eager in doing homage to him." From the previous paragraphs it is clear that Swinburne is referring to some letter from the Poet Laureate to the Poe Memorial Committee, headed by Miss Sara S. Rice, which was responsible for the placing of a marker over Poe's grave in Baltimore. Because of Ingram's connection with the committee as its English representative, it would be most appropriate for him to inform Swinburne of Tennyson's act. However, Tennyson wrote two letters to the Memorial Committee that are preserved; one, dated January 21, 1875, was read at the unveiling of the monument on November 17, 1875: this letter said in part,

I have long been acquainted with Poe's works & I am an admirer of them. I am obliged to you for your kind expression about myself & your promise of sending me the design for the Poet's monument.²

Brotherton Library of the University of Leeds, the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library, and of the records of several private Swinburne collectors have failed to produce the letter.

^{1a} The Bonchurch editors assign the translation itself to Mallarmé (see footnote 2, Letter XCII); Mr. Bandy, *op. cit.*, has pointed out that "This editorial footnote is erroneous: This version of the *Marginalia* was not by Mallarmé, but by Augusta Holmes." The Introduction, however, is by Mallarmé.

² A lithographic reproduction of this letter was published by the New York *Daily Graphic*, November 16, 1875, 124, in its issue devoted to the unveiling of the mon-

The second letter, one that more accurately might be called "a letter of sympathy," is that which Tennyson wrote in reply to the committee's request for an appropriate epitaph for the marker:

How can so strange & fine a genius & so sad a life be exprest & comprest in one line—Would it not be best to say of Poe in a reverential spirit simply Requiescat in Pace[?]

This second letter bears the dating "Farringford, Freshwater, Isle of Wight. Feb 18th/76," with the salutation "Madam."³ If it is this letter that Swinburne is commenting upon, it is obvious that we cannot accept the date of 1874 for Letter XCII.

Other items in the Swinburne letter allow us to place it at least in the latter months of 1875 or shortly after the beginning of 1876. The letter opens with these lines:

I do not know any one to whom I can advise you to apply on behalf of the Poe Memorial volume. M. Mallarmé wrote to me some time ago in acknowledgement of the reference to himself in my letter to Miss Rice, who has written again and sent me a photograph of the singularly horrible monument.

The reference to the *Memorial Volume* is obscure, but we might conjecture that it refers either to contributors or subscribers to the volume published in connection with the Baltimore unveiling. The celebration, after several delays, took place in Westminster churchyard, Baltimore, on November 17, 1876. The volume commemorating this ceremony was published at least a year later.⁴ But the other remarks here are not so obscure: Swin-

ument. This letter, however, seems to be intended only indirectly for the committee, for the salutation is "Dear Sir," not an appropriate one for Miss Rice, and it carries Tennyson's thanks "for your interesting book," while Miss Rice had not yet published her book. It is possible that Tennyson may have been addressing one of the writers on Poe who was also connected with the Memorial Committee and who passed the letter on for the committee's use.

³ There is a reproduction of this letter by some lithographic means in *Edgar Allan Poe; A Memorial Volume* (Baltimore, Turnbull Brothers, 1877). The letter is quoted in part in *Alfred Lord Tennyson; A Memoir by his Son* (New York, Macmillan Company, 1897), II: 293.

⁴ The copyright to the volume is 1876, and Miss Rice's preface is dated "November, 1876," although the title-page carries the date 1877. On December 27, [1876], in an unpublished postscript to a letter to Watts-Dunton which Mr. Cecil Lang has generously permitted me to quote, Swinburne wrote, "Might I ask you, when convenient, to look in once more at my chambers & see if there has come a book for me from America (the Edgar Poe 'Memorial,' announced in a letter which it does not accompany). . . ." The book must have arrived shortly after this letter was posted, for on December 28, 1876, Swinburne wrote to Ingram, "A thousand thanks for

burne, on November 9, 1875, had written Miss Rice a letter on the genius of Poe which was designed to be read at the unveiling. Swinburne's letter must not have arrived in time for reading at that time, for the daily newspapers, which reported fully and faithfully the ceremony, did not include it although letters from many literary figures were printed in the accounts.⁵ But Miss Rice used it in the *Memorial Volume*, placing it just after Tennyson's letter.⁶ In this letter Swinburne refers to an edition of Poe's poems in French "with illustrations full of the subtle and tragic force which impelled and moulded the original song; a double homage due to the loyal and loving co-operation of one of the most remarkable younger poets and one of the most powerful leading painters in France—M. Mallarmé and M. Manet." This seems clearly a reference to Mallarmé's translation of "The Raven," illustrated by Manet, which was published under the title "Le Corbeau" by R. Lesclide (Paris, 1875). Mallarmé's note of appreciation for such praise would of necessity be sometime after the writing of the letter of November, 1875, to Miss Rice. Mallarmé might have been informed of such praise before the letter appeared in Miss Rice's volume late in 1876, but it seems impossible that he could have written Swinburne prior to "April 21st, 1874," for praise that was not given until November 9, 1875.

The final item in the opening paragraph is the mention of a photograph of the Poe monument: certainly this monument was not in place and being photographed eighteen months before its dedication. We must reasonably allow that photographs of it would be made only shortly before its dedication on November 17, 1875, or sometime thereafter. It appears unlikely that Swinburne could have received in April of 1874 a photograph of a monument not unveiled until November of 1875.

A few other items in the letter may be noted for the bearing that they have on the date. In the second paragraph of Letter XCII, Swinburne mentions having seen "some verses headed *Alone* which seemed to me not unworthy on the whole of the parentage claimed for them." This is a ref-

the Baltimore Memorial, which you have been kind enough to accept the trouble of forwarding to me." (Letter CLXIV, Bonchurch edition, XVIII: 269).

⁵ A search of the newspapers preserved in the collection of Poeana made by John H. Ingram, now in the Manuscript Division of the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia, does not disclose the publication of this letter in connection with the reports of the ceremony. The letter does not appear in the following newspapers, all of which gave much space to the exercises: *New York Evening Post* and *Baltimore Evening News* for November 17, 1875, *New York Daily Graphic*, *Baltimore Sun*, *New York Daily Tribune*, and the *Baltimore American* for November 18, 1875.

⁶ It is also printed as Letter CXLII in the Bonchurch edition, XVIII: 218-220.

erence to a poem attributed to the youthful Poe which Eugene L. Didier claimed to have discovered "in a lady's album" in 1874, but which was not published until September, 1875, when Didier appended a note to a reproduction of the lines in *Scribner's Magazine*.⁷ Although someone could have sent a copy of the poem to Swinburne prior to publication, it seems more likely that the reference is to the magazine publication of the poem. If this is so, he could not have been writing of the poem in 1874.

In the same paragraph Swinburne comments upon two articles by Ingram, a "handwriting paper" and "your article on *Politian*," Poe's only drama, which "I have never received, and should much like to see." I have not been able to locate the handwriting paper, although it should be noted that Ingram collected some years later his "handwriting papers" in a small volume.⁸ The article on *Politian*, however, appeared in the first issue of the *London Magazine* for November, 1875.⁹ The Bonchurch editions erroneously note that this article appeared in 1874.

The last paragraph of the letter is concerned with the Byron monument and Swinburne's relation to the Byron committee. The "Committee for a National Memorial to Byron" was organized in 1875, and in the same year Trelawny was elected a member, prior to Swinburne's nomination.¹⁰ It was only because of Trelawny's nomination of him, Swinburne declares, that he accepted membership. Thus Swinburne could not have been writing of this in 1874.

By these external datings of the letter, it is apparent that Letter XCII cannot be accepted as belonging to the year 1874. The translations into French by Mallarmé of Poe's *Marginalia* did not appear until March, 1876, and Tennyson's "letter of sympathy" was not written until Feb-

⁷ The reproduction of the poem, probably by some lithographic process or woodcut, appears in *Scribner's*, X: 608 (September, 1875). For a discussion of the background and source of this poem, see my forthcoming *Poe's "Alone,"* in: *Studies in Bibliography*, III (1950).

⁸ *The Philosophy of Handwriting* (London, Chatto and Windus [1879]) was published under the pseudonym "Don Felix de Salamanca"; in the preface Ingram writes, "A few years ago a portion of these sketches appeared, as a series of articles, in the columns of an illustrated contemporary."

⁹ *London Magazine of Light Literature*, I: 47-54 (November, 1875). Incidentally, Swinburne finally received this article in December, 1876: see Letter CLXII, Bonchurch edition, XVIII: 267.

¹⁰ H. J. Massingham, *The Friend of Shelley; a Memoir of Edward John Trelawny* (New York, D. Appleton & Company, 1930), 324. Swinburne seems to have met Trelawny only in July, 1876. See his letter to Edwin Harrison, August 27, 1876, printed in Hake and Compton-Rickett, *The Letters of Algernon Charles Swinburne* (London, John Murray, 1918), pp. 65-69.

ruary, 1876. Moreover, the other items in the letter pertain to the latter months of 1875 or the beginning of the year 1876. At a time a year later, 1877, these projects would have been old news between the friends Ingram and Swinburne. If a dating of 1876 is taken for the letter the difficulties surrounding the date of 1874 are cleared away.

To confirm this suggested date of 1876, one may compare Letter XCII with Swinburne's Letter CLIII to Lord Houghton.¹¹ This letter, dated March 29th [1876], discusses two items found in Letter XCII, the Byron Committee and Trelawny's nomination of Swinburne, as well as the new magazine *La République des Lettres*, to which Swinburne was a contributor. Since these two letters are so close in tone and content, it is possible that the "April 21st" of Letter XCII is a mistake for "April 1st": but to date the letter with such accuracy is impossible. But by a consideration of the external evidence it is possible to reject the date of 1874 and substitute that of 1876 for Swinburne's Letter XCII to Ingram.

I. B. CAUTHEN, JR.

Titles From Housman: IV

Another slight index to a poet's fame—besides what Professor Tom B. Haber wrote in a recent issue of the *Colby Library Quarterly*—is the number of scholars who comment on aspects of his poetry. For example, the present article is none less than the fourth about writers who have taken their titles from A. E. Housman's *A Shropshire Lad*, *Last Poems*, or *More Poems*. The first was Harold U. Ribalow, "A Treasury of Titles," *Saturday Review of Literature*, 23: 9, 29 March 1941; then I wrote "'To A. E. Housman': Echoes in Novels and Verses," *Bulletin of Bibliography*, 19: 73-75, May-August 1947; and finally, Tom Burns Haber, "Titles from the Poetry of A. E. Housman," *Colby Library Quarterly*, 2: 214-216, February 1950.

To this last compilation I should like to add the following:

1. *The Happy Highways* (ASL XL) by Storm Jameson (New York, Century Company, 1920) [Novel].
2. *A Stranger and Afraid* (LP XII) by Ted Olson (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1928) [Poems].
3. *Shoulder the Sky* (LP IX) by James Gray (New York, Putnam, 1935) [Novel].

¹¹ Bonchurch edition, XVIII: 244-246.

4. *Angry Dust* (LP IX) by Nikolai Gubsky (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937) [Autobiography].
5. *And Beacons Burn Again* (ASL I) by Henry Tuchet-Jesson (New York, Appleton-Century, 1940) [Letters].
6. *A Stranger and Afraid* (LP XII) by Michael Hardt (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1943) [Novel].

My own list in the *Bulletin of Bibliography* also contained poems "to A. E. Housman," parodies, and lines from A.E.H. spoken by characters in novels and plays. I take this opportunity to add 9 more titles to my original 71 poems, plays, novels, and other books:

- Adams, Franklin P. "If They Had Written 'Yes, We Have No Bananas': A. E. Housman," and "Tipperary IV: By Our Own A. E. Housman," *Column Book of F.P.A.* (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1928), pp. 32-33, 46-47. [Parodies.]
- Bynner, Witter. "Housman," *Against the Cold* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1940), p. 68. [Poem.]
- Faulkner, William. *The Wild Palms* (New York, Random House, 1939; Penguin Books, 1948), p. 37. [The heroine misquotes ASL XLV: "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, lad, and be whole." What Housman actually wrote was: "If it chance your eye offend you, Pluck it out, lad, and be sound."]
- Hodgins, Eric. *Mr. Blandings Builds His Dream House* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1946), p. 118. [Mr. Blandings is pictured writing advertising copy: "he wrote and rewrote and then re-rewrote over and over and over, like A. E. Housman agonizing over the quatrains of *A Shropshire Lad* but looking toward a wholly different end result."]
- Marquand, John P. *Point of No Return* (Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1949), p. 378. [Chapter XVIII has its title from ASL XIII: "When I Was One-and-Twenty, I Heard a Wise Man Say."]
- Maugham, W. Somerset. "The Colonel's Lady," *Quartet*, stories by W. Somerset Maugham, screen-plays by R. C. Sherrieff (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1949), pp. 161, 182. [Bookshop assistant says of heroine's poems: "she was sort of inspired like by a personal experience, like Housman was with *A Shropshire Lad*. She'll never write anything else."]
- North, Sterling, and C. B. Boutell, eds. *Speak of the Devil* (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1945), p. 123. [The introduction to English devils misquotes ASL LXII: "Malt does more than Milton can | To justify God's ways toward man."]
- Pound, Ezra. "Mr. Housman's Message," reprinted in *Pleasure Dome: On Reading Modern Poetry* by Lloyd Frankenberg (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1949), p. 275. [Scurrilous retort in verse to Housman.]
- Shute, Nevile. *Pastoral* (New York, William Morrow and Company, 1944), pp. 1, 77. [Chapters I and IV have headings from ASL XLIX and LX: "Think no more, lad; laugh, be jolly" and "Now hollow fires burn out to black."]

In addition, newspaper editorial writers often quote Housman, such as *The Portland Oregonian* during World War II, 14 April 1942, on "Corregidor and Other Sieges" from ASL XXIII ("The lads in their hun-

dreds . . . "); and the especially apt *New York Herald Tribune* editorial on 30 December 1949 after the death of Dr. Jack Lovelock, which ended with lines from ASL XIX, "To an Athlete Dying Young."

WILLIAM WHITE

*Further Additions to the Check-List of Young's "Night-Thoughts"
in America*

As a result of publication of my initial check-list of Edward Young's *Night-Thoughts* reprinted in America (PAPERS, XLII: 150-156) 37 additions to the original 108 items are now at hand. Four of these have been reported from the Huntington and Los Angeles Public Libraries by William D. Templeman (PAPERS, XLIII: 348-349). The other 33 turned up in libraries of New England and the region of the Western Reserve on a trip suggested to me by Professor George Sherburn and made possible through a grant of the Graduate Research Council of the University of Colorado. Professor Templeman reported an undated edition from Philadelphia which appears to be identical with a copy in the American Antiquarian Society, reported as Item No. 16 in the original list.

The John Carter Brown Library of Providence afforded an additional point on the dating of Item No. 3 (Newburyport), the date of 27 December 1801 appearing in contemporary hand on the fly leaf of its copy. An interesting note in the colonial history of the poem was brought to my attention by Mr. C. S. Brigham of the American Antiquarian Society. It is in Robert Bell's Philadelphia catalogue of 15 July 1773 where three copies of Young's *Night-Thoughts* and one of his *Works* in four volumes, all presumably in London editions, are offered for sale. This is the same years in which Franklin ordered his copy of the *Night-Thoughts* from London.

In the list of items that follows, the numbering of sections and of items continues from the numbering in the original check-list. Location of all new items is indicated after each item, and a list of known copies forming the basis of the original check-list appears as Section V. Library symbols are those used in the 1933 *Union List of Serials* with the following additions:

CtH	The Hartford (Conn.) Public Library
CtMR	The Russell Library of Middletown, Connecticut
MBG	The General Theological Library of Boston, Massachusetts
MHav	The Haverhill (Mass.) Library

MSE	The Essex Institute of Salem, Massachusetts
OCIU	Ursuline College of Cleveland, Ohio
RPJCB	The John Carter Brown Library of Providence, Rhode Island

III. *Additional Check-List of the "Night-Thoughts"*

109. Philadelphia and Baltimore, 1800. Published in Philadelphia by H. and P. Rice and in Baltimore by J. Rice. MiU
110. Philadelphia, 1805, 2 vols. Printed for Benjamin Johnson, Jacob Johnson, and Robert Johnson. Two volumes of the 1805 edition of the "Works" (Item No. 93) prepared for separate sale. MWA, MSE, NjP
111. Hartford, 1825. Published by Silas Andrus. NjP
112. Hartford, 1828. Published by Silas Andrus. CtY
113. Concord, N. H., 1829. Stereotyped by D. Watson of Woodstock, Vt., and published by J. B. Moore. CtHW, ODW, OO
114. Hartford. Published by Andrus and Judd. See Item No. 50. MSE, RPB
115. Boston, 1831. Engraved title-page prefixed to Item No. 44. Author's Collection.
116. Baltimore, 1837. Published by N. Hickman. DLC, MH
117. Concord, N. H., 1837. Stereotyped by Allison and Foster and published by Oliver L. Sanborn. See Item No. 57. MSE
118. Portland, 1841. Stereotyped by Allison and Foster and published by Oliver L. Sanborn. See Item No. 57. MSE
119. Exeter, 1842. Published by J. and B. Williams. See Item No. 51. MSE, OO
120. Portland, 1842. Stereotyped by S. Andrus and Son. See Item No. 61. CtY
121. Hartford, 1843. Published by S. Andrus and Son. See Item No. 61. CtY
122. Hartford, 1843. Published by William Andrus. CtY, OCIW
123. Concord, N. H., 1845. Published by Morrill, Silsby, and Co. CtHT
124. Portland, 1846. Stereotyped by Allison and Foster for Oliver L. Sanborn. CtHW
125. Halifax, 1846. Published by W. Milner. See Item No. 53. CaM
126. Hartford, 1847. Published by S. Andrus and Son. See Item No. 68. DLC, MH
127. Fitchburg, Mass., 1847. Published by S. and C. Shepley. MH
128. Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, 1848. Printed by Smith and Peters of Philadelphia and published there by Kay and Troutman and in Pittsburgh by C. H. Kay. See Item No. 56. Reported by Templeman from his copy.
129. Hartford, 1851. Published by S. Andrus and Son. See Item No. 68. CtY
130. Boston, 1851. Published by S. Andrus and Son. See Item No. 68. CtY
131. New York, 1853. Published by Leavitt and Allen. See Item No. 75. Reported by Templeman. CSmH, MH

132. New York, 1853. Published by D. Appleton and Co. See Item No. 85. CtHW, OO
133. New York, 1853. Published by Clark, Austin, and Smith. CtHW
134. New York, 1854. Published by D. Appleton and Co. See Item No. 85. Reported by Templeman. CSmH, RPB
135. Boston and New York, 1856. Published in Boston by Phillips, Sampson and Co., and in New York by James C. Derby. Reported by Templeman. CL
136. Boston, 1860. Published by Crosby, Crosby, Nichols Lee and Co. MSE
137. New York, 1872. Published by Robert Carter and Brothers. See Item No. 74. CtHW
138. New York, 1889. Published by Worthington Co. Author's Collection.
139. Philadelphia, 1894. Published by George W. Jacobs. OCl
140. New York. Published by Leavitt and Allen Bros. See Item No. 131. MH
141. New York. Published by Francis Hart. MSE
142. New York. Published by Clark, Austin and Smith. Stamped on cover "School Edition." A different printing from Item No. 132. CtW

IV. *Additional Check-List of Young's "Works"*

143. New York, 1822. Printed by William Brown and published by James Eastburn. This is volume 26 of *Works of the British Poets*, edited by R. Walsh, Jr. See Item No. 96 (Vol. 2). Author's Collection.
144. Philadelphia, 1830. Stereotyped by J. Crissy and G. Goodman for J. Grigg. See Item No. 97. MeB
145. Boston, 1894, 2 vols. Published by Little, Brown and Co. See Item No. 99. OClU

V. *A Finding-list of Items in Sections I and II*

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| 1, CtY, MiU-C, MH, MWA, NjP | 13, MBaT, MWA, MSE |
| 2, DLC, MH, MWA, RPJCB | 14, CtY, MWA |
| 3, CtY, MH, MWA, RPJCB | 15, CtY, MSE, MWA, OO, RPB |
| 4, MWA, MSE, RPJCB | 16, CSmH, MWA |
| 5, <i>Evans'</i> No. 24019 | 17, MWA, NjP |
| 6, CtY, DLC, MH, MWA, NN | 18, CtY, DLC, MH, MWA |
| 7, CtY, MWA, NN | 19, CtY, DLC, MH, MWA, OClW |
| 8, DLC, MWA, NN, RPJCB | 20, MWA |
| 9, DLC, MH, MWA | 21, CtY, MH, MN, MSE, MWA |
| 10, <i>Catalogue of the Library Company of Philadelphia</i> , 1835, p. 484. | 22, MH, MWA, OCl |
| 11, MSE, MWA | 23, CtW, MWA |
| 12, DLC, MB, MH, MSE, MWA, NjP, OO | 24, DLC, MWA |
| | 25, MWA, PU |
| | 26, CtW, MSE, MWA |

- 27, DLC, MH, MHav, MSE,
MWA
- 28, CtHT, MH, MWA
- 29, CtHW, CtY, MiU, MWA
- 30, CtHT, MB, MH, MiU-C,
MSE, MWA, NjP, NN
- 31, CtY, DLC, MH, MHav, MSE,
MWA, RPB
- 32, MWA, RPB
- 33, MWA
- 34, MWA
- 35, CtHT, DLC, MWA
- 36, CtY, DLC, MH, MWA
- 37, MWA, RPB
- 38, CtY, DLC, MH, MWA, NjP
- 39, CtY, DLC, MWA
- 40, CtY, MBAt
- 41, CtY, DLC, MWA, NjP
- 42, MH, MWA
- 43, MB
- 44, DLC, MH, MSE, MWA, OCl
- 45, Author's Collection
- 46, Author's Collection
- 47, CtHW, MB, MH
- 48, DLC, MB, MH
- 49, MWA
- 50, CtHT, MiU, MWA, NjP
- 51, MH, MiU, OO, RPB
- 52, MWA
- 53, RPB
- 54, CtY, MeWC
- 55, MH
- 56, MWA
- 57, CtY, MH, MWA, RPB
- 58, MWA
- 59, MH, MSE
- 60, MWA
- 61, CtY
- 62, NIC, OO
- 63, MH
- 64, MSE, MWA
- 65, MWA
- 66, CtY, DLC, MH, OCl
- 67, NN
- 68, NN
- 69, Author's Collection
- 70, MH
- 71, MH, MWA
- 72, MWA
- 73, NIC
- 74, CtY, ICU
- 75, CtY, MWA, OO
- 76, CtY, DLC, MWA
- 78, MH
- 79, DLC
- 80, DLC, MH
- 81, MB
- 82, CtY, ICN
- 83, CtHW
- 84, CtY
- 87, RPB
- 88, DLC
- 89, NN, VU
- 90, MB, VU
- 91, MB, NN
- 92, Author's Collection
- 93, MeB, MWA, MSE
- 94, CtY, MH, MiU-C, MSE,
MWA, OO, RPB
- 95, MWA
- 96, CtY, DLC, RPB
- 97, CtW, MB
- 98, MH
- 99, CtY, MWA, NIC, RPB
- 100, NIC
- 101, CtH, CtW, DLC, OCl, RPB
- 102, MH, MSE
- 103, DLC, MiU
- 104, CtY, MH
- 105, CtW
- 106, CtW, MBA, RPB
- 107, CtMR, MBG
- 108, DLC, OU

HENRY PETTTT

Book Reviews

Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society. Edited by Bruce Dickins and A. N. L. Munby, Vol. I, Part I, 1949. Cambridge, England, Bowes & Bowes, 1949. x, 96 pp. Plates. 10½ x 7⅛ inches. Subscription, One Guinea.

This initial publication of the newly-formed Cambridge Bibliographical Society contains nine articles and two minor bibliographical notes. It is well printed in a large format on paper of excellent quality, and is freely illustrated with plates. The expressed editorial policy is to welcome contributions with some Cambridge connection, although articles of general bibliographical interest will not be excluded.

Prominent among the articles of enumerative interest is the full listing by N. R. Ker of "Medieval Manuscripts from Norwich Cathedral Priory," accompanied by careful discussion of evidences of ownership, date, and the importance of inscriptions. Of similar *genre* is "Two Medieval Calendars and other Leaves Removed by John Bowtell from University Library MSS." by A. I. Doyle. Of literary importance is Geoffrey Keynes, "Books from Donne's Library," giving details of twenty newly identified volumes once owned by John Donne, with present places of deposit. E. P. Goldschmidt contributes a description and analysis of a fifteenth-century Italian blind-stamped binding in U. C. L., of singular interest because of the rarity of the large and deeply impressed panel stamps in Italian workmanship. The lengthy "Hand-List of the Printed Works of William Johnson, afterwards Cory," compiled by John Carter may be taken as a model for similar studies, although its subject, a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Assistant Master at Eton, is probably of less concern to non-Cantabrigians.

The study of types and cuts is exemplified in F. S. Ferguson's announcement of a newly discovered book by the early sixteenth-century Cambridge printer John Siberch, and the establishment of a connection between his printing material and the shop of Cornelis of Zierikzee in Cologne. More work on types is found in Bruce Dickins' "The Irish Broadside of 1571 and Queen Elizabeth's Types." Here a bardic poem broad-

side printed in Gaelic types, which is not listed in the *STC* and exists only as a sheet of printer's waste, is shown to be the first Irish text printed in Ireland. This document leads to a history of the Irish types which Queen Elizabeth ordered cut before the end of 1567, and to an account of the Irish printers who used them.

In a brief but important article H. M. Adams offers visual tables of signature positions in relation to the text type-page as a means of identifying thirty editions of the *Book of Common Prayer* between 1611 and 1639, including various unrecorded editions. Rare book curators will find this invaluable as a check on the proper cataloguing of their holdings. The article is offered only as a rough kind of identification, but the method is sufficiently exact to be useful although it does not take account of the variable position of signatures which would be found in printing from standing type, and is therefore not a precise test to distinguish edition from impression.

Viewed as a whole, the volume displays a high standard of editing reflected in the consistent weight and erudition of the articles, although there are a few trivia which might possibly have been distributed to members in another medium. The purpose of the Society is well met, for all but three of the articles are directly concerned with the minute examination of rarities in Cambridge libraries. If this first publication is to be taken as a sample of what is to come, we may expect still more important discoveries of a particular nature to emerge from the Society's activities, for it seems clear that the *Transactions* provide not only a useful outlet but also a positive stimulus to uncover treasures among the Cambridge holdings.

If later volumes follow the present pattern, there will be—one may presume from the kind of material investigated—a strong interest in antiquarianism, in the good sense of the word. One also sees in this collection a tendency towards "enumerative" or "compilatory" bibliography, a natural tendency, perhaps, in view of the policy to deal chiefly with Cambridge material. Because of the special purposes of the *Transactions*, it would be idle to compare the volume with an English general bibliographical journal like *The Library*, in which articles on textual or more specifically analytical bibliography may be given some prominence. That is, the Cambridge volume is not especially concerned with bibliography as a working with printing-house techniques, but instead with bibliography as the orderly examination and clarification of books in a state of completion, what one may call the history of the book. But within this somewhat narrower scope, the *Transactions* can be read only with respect for the exact schol-

arship and authority which they represent, and with anticipation of numerous other discoveries from the rich Cambridge storehouse.

FREDSON BOWERS

HAYWARD, JOHN, *comp.* *English Poetry: An Illustrated Catalogue of First and Early Editions Exhibited in 1947 at 7 Albemarle Street, London.* [Cambridge, England.] Published for the National Book League by the Cambridge University Press, 1950. [148] pp. + 381 plates. 10 x 7½ inches. \$15.00.

An important exhibition of English poetry was held in London three years ago when the National Book League displayed the printed works of English poets from Chaucer to the present day. An annotated catalogue was published at the time, compiled by John Hayward. The present illustrated issue, limited to 550 numbered copies, is built upon the original sheets of the 1947 catalogue. It has a new title leaf, followed by a newly added table of contents. Pages v-x, 1-[141] are the sheets of the original edition containing a preface, list of lenders, the catalogue proper, an index to titles and an index to authors. Pages 143-[148] are devoted to noteworthy additions and corrections, while the remainder of the volume is given over to the plates: 381 reproductions of title-pages or their equivalents. Every book in the exhibition is represented except those *bound with* a title chosen for display, a few substitutions made when very unusual books were later discovered, and the proof sheets of Byron's *Don Juan*. Pictorial titles are usually reproduced in collotype.

Mr. Hayward's ability in the preparation of exhibitions was demonstrated in 1945 when he organized the Swift Commemorative Exhibition, while his knowledge of English poetry has been tested as editor of several anthologies. Evidence of his powers of persuasion is revealed in the fact that he borrowed books for the poetry exhibition from seventy-nine sources, meeting with only one refusal. He attempted to use only privately owned books, but some gaps had to be filled from college libraries.

Titles in the catalogue are given in full, except for the omission of quotations. A statement on size, edition and binding is always made. Unique books are treated to full bibliographical descriptions, while books printed before 1600 usually include a record of collation. Special features of the copy on exhibition are described, with attention given to provenance or association, variants, number of recorded copies, or corrections to descriptions in standard bibliographies. Sometimes a word on the history or liter-

ary significance of the book is added. As a work of reference the catalogue will be an important source to check, but some uncertainty will exist, not as to its accuracy, but to the type and amount of information one may expect to find.

Bibliographical references are made, with the most frequent citations to the *Short-Title Catalogue* and the Grolier Club's *English Writers from Wither to Prior*. In descriptions of nineteenth-century books, the editor is aware of the great mischief done to bibliographical canon by the late Thomas J. Wise. The entries are arranged by date of publication, an order which emphasizes the fact that so many poets never lived to see their work in book form. In recent years we have seen this in the emergence of Thomas Traherne, Digby Dolben, Gerard Manley Hopkins and Wilfred Owen, but it has occurred again and again in past centuries.

In the selection of poets and titles, bibliographical interest has a slight edge over literary merit; juvenilia may represent the poet whose real contributions came later. In spite of this conflict, the choices made by Mr. Hayward offer little scope for controversy. It is always more difficult to reckon with the poets of the present day. Of the many who have come upon the scene since World War I, the following were selected: C. Day Lewis, Victoria Sackville-West, W. H. Auden, Stephen Spender, Louis MacNeice, Dylan Thomas, William Empson, Sidney Keyes and David Gascoyne. One can think of other legitimate contenders for a place on the list, George Barker and W. R. Rodgers to name but two, yet the over-all choice seems valid.

The whole range of English poetry is represented, within certain defined limits. Manuscripts are not included. Dramatic verse and translations were not exhibited, nor were miscellanies except in a very few cases when they seemed the most appropriate display for a particular poet. Scottish verse was ruled out except that "a few poets of Scottish birth are represented, because, writing in English, unmixed with Scottish dialect, they are commonly regarded as English writers." This, of course, explains the absence of Burns. The same decision has apparently been made for Anglo-Irish poets. Yeats, Swift and Wilde appear; Thomas Moore, Joyce and Stephens are absent.

The difficulties of finding the most desirable books are illustrated in the case of Shakespeare. He is represented by the first edition of *Lucrece*, borrowed from Sion College, and the 1640 *Poems*, borrowed from Quaritch. His 1609 *Sonnets* was simply unavailable and the loan of the only privately owned copy of his first published work, *Venus and Adonis*, was

refused. While the high standards of the exhibition suggest that England still has many magnificent private libraries, it is no longer possible to make an ideal selection for such an exhibition and to carry it out without compromise.

It is not easy to read Mr. Hayward's preface without an emotional response. In the first place, these books have been the means of transmitting the great texts of English poetry from earlier times to our own. In at least one instance the copy shown has been the unique instrument through which a poet's work has been preserved. Also, Mr. Hayward views the exhibition as the swan song of the private collector in England; he feels that it will not be possible in the future to assemble such a collection from private sources. The dispersal of the great libraries continues, the scale on which new collections are formed will not balance the loss.

GERALD D. McDONALD

FLORÉN LOZANO, LUIS. *Bibliografía de la bibliografía dominicana*. Ciudad Trujillo, R.D., Roques Román, C. por A., impr., 1948. viii, 66 pp. 9 x 6¼ inches.

Luis Florén Lozano, director of the Biblioteca de la Universidad de Santo Domingo, has prepared the bibliography of Dominican bibliography as a step towards a comprehensive, retrospective national bibliography for the Dominican Republic (officially: República Dominicana), the eastern and Spanish speaking part of the island of Hispaniola or Haiti in the Antilles, which is not infrequently though incorrectly referred to as the republic of Santo Domingo.

In the work are included not only separately published contributions devoted mainly to the Dominican Republic, but those having only a special chapter or section as well as articles in periodicals and newspapers. Florén Lozano seems to have covered the field thoroughly. The general section of 39 titles is arranged by author and title; the second section of about 180 titles, alphabetically by subject; and the third of 12 titles, by bibliophee; the whole concluded with a satisfactory index.

Among the Dominicans who have made bibliographical contributions may be mentioned Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi, former director of the Archivo General de la Nación, Máximo Coiscou Henríquez, a lecturer in history at the Universidad de Santo Domingo, Max Henríquez Ureña, a writer of distinction and diplomat, the late Pedro Henríquez Ureña, an educator and scholar of merit, and Florén Lozano.

The hand of Florén Lozano is evident (without mention) as the compiler of the first *Anuario Bibliográfico Dominicana*, 1946 (Ciudad Trujillo, 1947, xvi, 183 pp.) published by the Oficina de Canje y Difusión Cultural, attached to the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, as a register by topic of about 800 books, pamphlets, and other items produced in the Dominican Republic during the year 1946. The *Anuario* had been preceded by two numbers of the *Boletín bibliográfico dominicano*, published by the Oficina de Canje y Difusión Cultural, then attached to the Archivo General de la Nación, No. 1 for July-August, 1945, covering the year 1944, and No. 2, September-December, 1945, covering the year 1945. Florén Lozano also prepared the second volume of the *Anuario Bibliográfico Dominicano*, 1947 (Ciudad Trujillo, 1948, xii, 201 pp.) published by the Sección de Canje y Difusión Cultural of the Secretaría de Educación y Bellas Artes, as a register of more than 900 books, pamphlets, and other items produced in the Dominican Republic during 1947.

Some inkling of the task involved in a retrospective national bibliography from the time of independence in 1844 may be derived from the extensive record of the production during the years 1946 and 1947, balanced by various factors during the past century that have not always encouraged the printing press and the preservation of its products as at present.

JAMES B. CHILDS

POTTER, JACK. *A Bibliography of John Dos Passos*. With an Introduction by John Dos Passos. Chicago, Normandie House, 1950. 96 pp. 9 x 6 inches. \$5.00.

"If you are trying to follow the windings of some dead man's trail through history there is nothing more wonderful than to come on a well done bibliography," says John Dos Passos in this introduction to his own bibliography. Though he complains that he feels like a man engraving "the plate on his [own] coffin after he's been laid away in it," there is no doubt of his pleasure in Jack Potter's work, for it is extremely well done.

One finds chronologically listed in this attractively printed volume 25 books by Dos Passos, fully described and collated, with previous appearances cited; 22 books containing contributions by Dos Passos, and 240 periodical articles by Dos Passos. There are also selected lists of 64 books and 93 periodical articles containing material about Dos Passos, 10 brief notes under Miscellany, an index of the Dos Passos books and articles, and (tipped in) an addendum of 14 periodical items.

The work has been done primarily for students and critics of Dos Passos, but "points" and other information of collector interest are indicated. As always with such compilations, there are errors and omissions; yet in pointing these out, I do not wish to underrate the importance of the book: to anyone working on Dos Passos' contribution to twentieth-century literature, it is indispensable.

It is easy to challenge Mr. Potter's opening over-statement: "Novelist, playwright, poet, historian and political commentator, war correspondent, world traveler, pamphleteer and journalist, and social historian of twentieth-century America—one searches in vain for [Dos Passos'] equal" in versatility. To name the first ones who come to mind: Hemingway, Steinbeck, John P. Marquand, John Hersey.

Severely limited by space, the bibliography omits translations, foreign editions, reprints (with a few exceptions), anthology appearances, dissertations, and reviews of Dos Passos books. However, under articles about Dos Passos, 52 of the 93 are extended book reviews. If one must omit, it is probably no great loss to do without these, for of the 270-odd reviews I have seen, many are sketchy and superficial. Listing unpublished theses might have been helpful, as would the location of MSS, but these are certainly outside Mr. Potter's intention.

Under Miscellany, mention could have been made of the English titles Dos Passos wrote for the Mexican film "Redes" and of the adaptation of a novel by Pierre Louÿs for motion pictures. Then here are four unlisted books to which he contributed:

Americans Abroad. Edited by Peter Neagoe. The Hague, The Servire Press, 1932.

Pages 129-134 contain "The Happy Warrior" by Dos Passos.

Culture and the Crisis. An open letter to the writers, artists, teachers, physicians, engineers, scientists, and other professional workers of America. New York, League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford, 1932.

Proletarian Literature in the United States. New York, International Publishers, 1935.

Pages 62-66 contain "The Body of an American" by Dos Passos, which appeared originally in *New Masses* (January, 1932). Pages 213-215 contain "Anacostia Flats" by Dos Passos.

Orientation for Modern Times. A course in three divisions. Part III. Edited by Ney MacMinn. [Chicago] The Delphian Society, 1937.

Facing page 1062 is a letter to Julian Behrstock, January 16, 1937, by Dos Passos (see Potter, p. 87).

Twelve periodical articles missing from both the book and addenda are:

"On Poetic Composition." *Bookman*. LIV: 64-65 (September, 1921). Poem reprinted from *Dial* (June, 1921). *A Pushcart at the Curb*.

"Venice, XV Century." *Literary Digest*. LXXII: 34 (February 4, 1922).

Review of *Plashers Mead* by Compton Mackenzie and *Interpretations of Literature* by Lafcadio Hearn. *Harvard Monthly*, LXI: 95-96 (December, 1915).

"The Man Who Said His Name Was Jones." *Front*. No. 3: 255-262 (1931). 1919.

"Novelist Urges Unity." *Common Sense*. II: 30 (September, 1933).

"Another Redskin Bites the Dust." *Esquire*. I: 38 (March, 1934). In *All Countries* (see Potter, p. 39).

Letter. *Partisan Review*. IV: 63 (January, 1937).

"Sidelines: Dos Passos and Broun Excel in Dual Expressions on Canvas and Paper." *Literary Digest*. CXXIII: 26-27 (February 6, 1937).

"Theodore Dreiser—John Dos Passos: A Conversation." *Direction*. I: 2-3, 28 (January, 1938).

Address at P.E.N. Congress. *New York Times*. September 14, 1941. p. 28.

Interview. *New York Times Book Review*. September 22, 1946, p. 33.

Blurb. *New York Times Book Review*. July 13, 1947, p. 16.

These few omissions are minor. So are such typographical errors as *Tournelle* for *Tourelle* (p. 70), *Millet* for *Millett* (p. 84), *à* for *â* (p. 87), *A Gesture of Castile* for *The Gesture . . .* (p. 69), *England in the Lull* for *England in the Great Lull* (p. 79). In the index (p. 93) the page number (69) to "A Humble Protest" is missing. "An Open Letter to President Lowell" appeared in the *Nation* on August 24, 1927, not August 2; and *MacNuin* (p. 87) should be *MacMinn*, and the item should be listed among books, not periodicals. The correct title of Sinclair Lewis's article (p. 85) is "Manhattan at Last!" Several other titles have misprints. The Lawrence review cited (on p. 84) in Diana Trilling's *Portable D. H. Lawrence* is not of *Rosinante to the Road Again*, but of *Manhattan Transfer*; it originally appeared in the *Calendar of Modern Letters*, April, 1927.

Finally, if Mr. Potter had had more room, I feel sure he would have listed Merle Johnson's *American First Editions*, Vernon L. Parrington's *Main Currents in American Thought*, Alan Calmer's "John Dos Passos" (*Sewanee Review*, XL: 341-349 [July-September, 1932]), and other secondary sources. Also, the index, much too skimpy, would have included this reference material (none whatsoever is indexed) as well as Dos Passos' contributions to books under their own titles, whereas they now appear only under the book title in which they were printed.

These shortcomings should not by any means imply that the volume is not a valuable tool for the Dos Passos researcher. We are deeply indebted to Jack Potter for a difficult and thankless job. Bibliographies of living writers mean that more of the same spadework must be done at a later date; till then, the present book is more than adequate.

Professor Martin Kallich of South Dakota State College, who supplied items in Mr. Potter's addenda and whose own list was helpful to me, notes

two Dos Passos contributions omitted from the Potter bibliography and from Professor Kallich's earlier *Bulletin of Bibliography* checklist:

Two manifestoes (signed by Dos Passos). *Literature of World Revolution*. No. 1: 126-128 (June, 1931).

Manifesto of the Committee for Cultural Freedom (May, 1939). Signed by Dos Passos. See Eugene Lyons, *The Red Decade* (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1941), pp. 342-345.

Dr. Kallich also adds the following articles about Dos Passos:

Selvinsky, K., and P. Pavlenko. "Open Letter to John Dos Passos." *International Literature*. Nos. 2-3: 109 (1932). (Stronger, perhaps coarser, language than that of the translation listed by Potter [under Zelinski, p. 86].)

Slochow, Harry. "John Dos Passos and John Steinbeck: Contrasting Notions of the Communal Personality." *Byrdcliffe Afternoons*. July, 1939, pp. 11-27.

Pearse, Andrew. "Dos Passos and the American Theme." *Focus One* (London, 1945), pp. 115-125.

Howe, Irving. "John Dos Passos: The Loss of Passion." *Tomorrow*. VIII: 54-57 (March, 1949).

One might also add, under Miscellany, writes Dr. Kallich, that Dos Passos was on the advisory board and listed among permanent contributors to *Literature of World Revolution* (superseded by *International Literature* in 1932) until 1936, but he never contributed, although excerpts of *Fortune Heights* appeared in the April, 1933, issue. Dos Passos is on the advisory board of *Good Reading* (Chicago, 1946) and his list of "Basic Books" appears in *Good Reading* (New American Library, 1948), p. 89.

To wind up, in tracing Dos Passos' popularity in America, Professor Kallich received the following replies, two years ago, from publishers: "John Dos Passos certainly is a popular author and his sales are continuing. We have sold approximately 40,000 copies of *Three Soldiers* and 80,000 of *U. S. A.*" (Random House, "The Modern Library"); and "Actually the sales of the [Dos Passos] books we publish varied considerably from quite a small sale on some books to an impressive figure of 25,000 copies on others." (Harper & Brothers). Although the New American Library of World Literature reported in December, 1949, that over 190,000 copies of *Manhattan Transfer* were sold, "and current sales are averaging about 1,000 copies a month," the reprint was withdrawn from most newsstands.

WILLIAM WHITE